INTRODUCTION

NE of the most important movements in China to-day the discovery of their own country by young Chinese itellectuals A generation ago the most progressive of ieir fathers were beginning to feel a stirring discontent ith their own country They were conscious indeed the ɔ isciousness was forced upon them that China as she ad been in the past was not able to meet the dangerous id aggressive modernity of the West I do not mean ie political modernity so much as the march of economic lucational and military events These Chinese fathers thers of the present generation in China were the real volutionists They forced out of existence the ld dynastic rule they changed with incredible speed the ystem of education with indefatigable zeal they planned nd set up a scheme of modern government No ancient overnment under an emperor ever accomplished with iore imperial speed such tremendous changes in so eat a country

In this atmosphere of change the present intellectual outh of China has grown up Where the fathers imbibed e doctrine of Confucius and learned the classics d revolted against them these young people have been ttered by many forces of the new times They have en taught something of science something of Christi ity something of atheism something of free lo mething of communism something of Western philo ophy something of modern militarism something ct of everything In the midst of the sturdy medi m of the masses of their countrymen the young ctuals have been taught the most extreme of every re Intellectually they have been forced to ers eat omissions that China has made

have skipped figuratively speaking from the period o the unimproved country road to the aeroplane era Th omission was too great The mind could not compensat for it The spirit was lost in the conflict

The first result therefore of the hiatus was undoubted ly to produce a class of young Chinese both men anc women but chiefly men who frankly did not know hov to live in their own country or in the age in which thei country still was They were for the most part educatec abroad where they forgot the realities of their own race was easy enough for various revolutionary leaders tc these alienated minds that China s so-called lness was due primarily to political and materia ence by foreign powers The world was made the at for China s medievalism Instead of realizing t China was in her own way making her own steps slowly it is true and somewhat ponderously toward modernity i was easy hue and cry to say that if it had not been fo foreigners she would have been already or an equality in material terms with other nations

The result of this was a fresh revolution of a sort China practically rid herself of her tw great grievances outside of Japan extraterritoriality and the tariff N great visible change appeared as a consequence It be came apparent th t what had been weaknesses were sti weaknesses and that these were inherent in the ideolog of the pe pl It was found for instance that when revolution ry leader became secure and entrenched h came c rservative and as corrupt too often as an ol yle offici l The same has been true in other histories ere were t many honest and intelligent young mind China not t bserve and accept the truth that the e world h d very little to do with China s condi d what she had to do with it could have been pre if China l l been earlier less sluggish and he less blind an l selfish

ollowed a p riod of despair and frenzy and in listic worsh p of the West The evident pros

ity of foreign countries was felt to be a direct fruit f Western scientific development It was a time when he inferiority complex was rampant in China and the oung patriots were divided between mortification at what heir country was and desire to conceal it from foreigners There was no truth to be found in them so far as their wn country was concerned They at once hated and dmired the foreigners

What would have happened if the West had continued rosperous and at peace cannot be said It is enough hat the West did not so continue The Chinese have iewed with interest and sometimes with satisfaction the world war the depression the breakdown of prosperity nd the failure of scientific men to prevent these disasters They have begun to say to themselves that after all China s not so bad Evidently there is hunger everywhere here are bandits everywhere and one people is not etter than another and if this is so then perhaps China vas right in olden times and perhaps it is just as well o go back and see what the old Chinese philosophy was At least it taught people to live with contentment and with njoyment of small things if they had not the great ones nd it regulated life and provided a certain amount of security and safety The recent interest in China on he part of the West the wistfulness of certain Western ersons who envy the simplicity and security of China s attern of life and admire her arts and philosophy have also helped to inspire the young Chinese with confidence n themselves

The result to day is simply a reiteration of the old Biblical adage that the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children s teeth are set on edge Young China eing wearied of the revolutionary ardours of its fathers s going back to old China It is almost amusing to see he often self-conscious determination to be re o eat Chinese food to live in Chinese lress in Chinese clothes It is as much of ose to be entirely Chinese these days

young westernized Chinese as it was for their fathers to wear foreign clothes and eat with knives and forks and want to go to Harvard These present young people have worn foreign clothes all their lives and eaten foreign food and they did go to Harvard and they know English literature infinitely better than their own and now they are sick of it all and want to go back to their grandfathers

The trend is apparent everywhere and not only in the externals of dress and customs Far more importantly is it to be seen in art and literature The subject of modern Chinese novels of a few years ago for instance dealt chiefly with modern love situations with semi foreign liaisons with rebellions against home and parents I the whole tone was somewhat sickly and certainly totally unrooted in the country There is still more than enough of this in both art and literature but health is beginning to creep in the health of life from plain people living plain and sturdy lives upon their earth The young intellectuals are beginning to discover their own masses They are beginning to find that life in the countryside in small towns and villages is the real and native life of China fortunately still fairly untouched with the mixed modernism which has made their own lives unhealthy They are beginning to feel themselves happy that there is this great solid foundation in their nation and to turn to it eagerly for fresh inspiration It is new to them it is delightful it is humorous it is worth having and above all it is purely Chinese

They have been helped to this new viewpoint too They would not I think have achieved it so well alone and it is the West which has helped them We of the West have helped them not only negatively by exhibiting a certain sort of breakdown in our own civilization but we have helped them positively by our own trend toward elemental life The Western interest in all proletarian movements has set young China to thinking about her own proletariat and to discovering the extraordinary

quality of her country people maintaining their life pure and incredibly undisturbed by the world s confusion It is natural that such tranquillity should greatly appeal to intellectuals in their own confusion and sense of being lost in the twisted times

Communism too has helped them Communism has brought about class consciousness it has made the common man articulate and demanding and since modern education in China has been available to the children of common people they have already been given a sort of voice at least wherewith to speak for themselves however inadequately In the art and literature of the young Leftists in China there is a rapidly spreading perception of the value of the common man and woman of their country The expression is still crude and too much influenced by foreign art but the notion is there One sometimes sees these days a peasant woman upon a canvas instead of a bird upon a bamboo twig and the straining figure of a man pushing a wheelbarrow instead of goldfish flashing in a lotus pool

Yet if we of the West were to wait for the interpretation of China until these newly released ones could find adequate and articulate voice it would be to wait long—longer perhaps than our generation Happily there are a few others a few spirits large enough not to be lost in the confusion of the times humorous enough to see life as it is with the fine old humour of generations of sophistication and learning keen enough to understand their own civilization as well as others and wise enough to choose what is native to them and therefore truly their own For a long time I have hoped that one of these few would write for us all a book about his own China a real book permeated with the essential spirit of the people Time after time I have opened a book eagerly and with hope and time after time I have closed it again in disappointment because it was untrue because it was bombastic because it was too fervent in defence of which was too gre[illegible]

ger than her little patriots and does not require their whitewashing She will as she always did right herself again

Nor do I write for the patriots of the West For I fear more their appreciative quotations from me than the misunderstandings of my countrymen I write only for the men of simple common sense that simple common sense for which ancient China was so distinguished but which is so rare to day My book can only be understood from this simple point of view To these people who have not lost their sense of ultimate human values to them alone I speak For they alone will understand me

My thanks are due to Pearl S Buck who from the beginning to the end gave me kind encouragement and who personally read through the entire manuscript before it was sent to the press and edited it to Mr Richard J Walsh who offered valuable criticism while the book was in progress and to Miss Lillian Peffer who styled the manuscript read the proofs and made the index Acknowledgements are also due to Mrs Selskar M Gunn Bernardine Szold Fritz and Baroness Ungern Sternberg who sometimes singly and sometimes in chorus nagged me into writing this book Lastly I am indebted to my wife who patiently went through with me the less pleasant aspects of authorship which only an author s wife could appreciate

June 1935 THE AUTHOR
Shanghai

PREFACE TO 1939 EDITION

THIS book was first written in 1934 when China was in her darkest hours threatened with invasion and with no leadership in sight Since then there has been a transformation in the spirit of the Chinese nation from derelict despair into hope unity and national self confidence as shown in its brave war of resistance There was great internal progress in social and economic reconstruction and the modernization of China was going on at such speed as to suggest a race against time before the on coming Japanese deluge Spiritually the Chinese people were first driven into a frenzy by steady Japanese aggressions and then galvanized into unity determined to achieve national liberation even at fabulous sacrifice and confident of final victory

Such a united nation of four hundred million people with such high morale and able leadership can never be conquered by a foreign power I believe that when China achieved true unity at the time of the Sian revolt she had passed the worst crisis of her modern history The story of this development is told in the chapter which I have added to this new edition entitled A Personal Story of the Sino Japanese War In this story I have recorded step by step China s rebirth as a modern nation the foundations of Chinese resistance as laid in the years from 1932 to 1937 the impossible state of affairs during those years and my feeling that armed conflict was inevitable and that the regeneration and redemption of China through war were equally inevitable and axiomatic an outline of the policy of Chiang Kaishek the master tegist throughout all these years and his present t for prolonged resistance and finally my forecast of

victory and the eventual development of China into an independent and progressive democracy

THE AUTHOR

January 20 1939
Paris

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PART ONE

BASES

PROLOGUE

I

WHEN one is in China one is compelled to think about her with compassion always with despair sometimes and with discrimination and understanding very rarely For one either loves or hates China Perhaps even when one does not live in China one sometimes thinks of her as an old great big country which remains aloof from the world and does not quite belong to it That aloofness has a certain fascination But if one comes to China one feels engulfed and soon stops thinking One merely feels she is there a tremendous existence somewhat too big for the human mind to encompass a seemingly inconsequential chaos obeying its own laws of existence and enacting its own powerful life-drama at times tragic at times comical but always intensely and boisterously real then after a while one begins to think again with wonder and amazement

This time the reaction will be temperamental it merely indicates whether one is a romantic cosmopolitan individual or a conceited self satisfied prig one either likes or dislikes China and then proceeds to justify one s likes or dislikes That is just as well for we must take some sort of attitude toward China to justify ourselves as intelligent beings We grope for reasons and begin to tell one another little anecdotes trifles of everyday life escaped or casual words of conversation things of tremendous importance that make us philosophers and enable us to become with great equanimity either her implacable critics allowing nothing good for her or else her ardent romantic admirers Of course these generalizations are rather silly But that is how human opinions are formed all over the world and it is unavoidable Then we set about arguing with one another Some

ways come out from the argument supremely satisfied of their rightness self assured that they have an opinion of China and of the Chinese people They are the happy people who rule the world and import merchandise from one part of it to another and who are always in the right Others find themselves beset with doubts and perplexities with a feeling of awe and bewilderment perhaps of awe and mystification and they end where they began But all of us feel China is there a great mystical *Dasein*

For China is the greatest mystifying and stupefying fact in the modern world and that not only because of her age or her geographical greatness She is the oldest living nation with a continuous culture she has the largest population once she was the greatest empire in the world and she was a conqueror she gave the world some of its most important inventions she has a literature a philosophy a wisdom of life entirely her own and in the realms of art she soared where others merely made an effort to flap their wings And yet to day she is undoubtedly the most chaotic the most misruled nation on earth the most pathetic and most helpless the most unable to pull herself together and forge ahead God—if there be a God—intended her to be a first-class nation among the peoples of the earth and she has chosen to take a back seat with Guatemala at the League of Nations and the entire League of Nations with the best will in the world cannot help her—cannot help her to pull her own house in order cannot help her to stop her own civil wars cannot help her to save herself from her own scholars and militarists her own revolutionists and gentry politicians

Meanwhile—and this is the most amazing fact—she is the least concerned about her own salvation Like a good gambler she took the loss of a slice of territory the size of Germany itself without a wince And while General T ang Yulin was beating a world record retreat and losing half a million square miles in eight days two generals an uncle and a nephew were matching their strength

in Szechuen One begins to wonder whether God will win out in the end whether God Himself can help China to become a first-class nation in spite of herself

And another doubt arises in one s mind What is China s destiny? Will she survive as she so successfully did in the past and in a way that no other old nation was able to do? Did God really intend her to be a first-class nation? Or is she merely Mother Earth s miscarriage ?

Once she had a destiny Once she was a conqueror Now her greatest destiny seems to be merely to exist to survive and one cannot but have faith in her ability to do so when one remembers how she has survived the ages after the beauty that was Greece and the glory that was Rome are long vanished remembers how she has ground and modelled foreign truths into her own likeness and absorbed foreign races into her own blood This fact of her survival of her great age is evidently something worth pondering upon There is something due an old nation a respect for hoary old age that should be applied to nations as to individuals Yes even to mere old age even to mere survival

For whatever else is wrong China has a sound instinct for life a strange supernatural extraordinary vitality She has led a life of the instinct she has adjusted herself to economic political and social environments that might have spelled disaster to a less robust racial constitution she has received her share of nature s bounty has clung to her flowers and birds and hills and dales for her inspiration and moral support which alone have kept her heart whole and pure and prevented the race from civic social degeneration She has chosen to live much in the open to bask in the sunlight to watch the evening glow to feel the touch of the morning dew and to smell the fragrance of hay and of the moist earth through her poetry through the poetry of habits of life as well as through the poetry of words she has learned to refresh her alas! too often wounded soul In other words she managed to reach grand old age in the same way as

individuals do by living much in the open and having a great deal of sunlight and fresh air But she has also lived through hard times through recurrent centuries of war and pestilence and through natural calamities and human misrule With a grim humour and somewhat coarse nerves she has weathered them all and somehow she has always righted herself Yes great age even mere great age is something to be wondered at

Now that she has reached grand old age she is beyond bodily and spiritual sorrows and one would have thought at times beyond hope and beyond redemption Is it the strength or the weakness of old age one wonders? She has defied the world and has taken a nonchalant attitude toward it which her old age entitles her to do Whatever happens her placid life flows on unperturbed in ... to pain and to mi ery impervious to shame and ambition—the little human emotions that agitate young breasts—and undaunted even by the threat of immediate ruin and collapse for the last two centuries Success and failure have ceased to touch her calamities and death have lost their sting and the overshadowing of her national life for a period of a few centuries has ceased to have any meaning Like the sea in the Nietzschean analogy she is greater than all the fish and shell fish and jelly fish in her greater than the mud and refuse thrown into her She is greater than the lame propaganda and petulance of all her returned students greater than the hypocrisy shame and greed of all her petty officials and turncoat generals and fence riding revolutionists greater than her wars and pestilence greater than her dirt and poverty and famines For she has survived them all Amidst wars and pestilence surrounded by her poor children and grandchildren Merry Old China quietly sips her tea and smiles on and in her smile I see her real strength She quietly sips her tea and smiles on and in her smile I detect at times a mere laziness to change and at others a conservatism that savours of haughtiness Laziness or haughtiness which? I do not know But some

where in her soul lurks the cunning of an old dog and it is a cunning that is strangely impressive What a strange old soul! What a great old soul!

II

But what price greatness? Carlyle has said somewhere that the first impression of a really great work of art is always unnerving to the point of painfulness It is the lot of the great to be misunderstood and so it is China s lot China has been greatly magnificently misunderstood Greatness is often the term we confer on what we do not understand and wish to have done with Between being well understood however and being called great China would have preferred the former and it would have been better for everybody all round But how is China to be understood? Who will be her interpreters? There is that long history of hers covering a multitude of kings and emperors and sages and poets and scholars and brave mothers and talented women There are her arts and philosophies her paintings and her theatres which provide the common people with all the moral notions of good and evil and that tremendous mass of folk literature and folklore The language alone constitutes an almost hopeless barrier Can China be understood merely through pidgin English? Is the Old China Hand to pick up an understanding of the soul of China from his cook and amah? Or shall it be from his Number One Boy? Or shall it be from his compradore and shroff or by reading the correspondence of the *North China Daily News*? The proposition is manifestly unfair

Indeed the business of trying to understand a foreign nation with a foreign culture especially one so different from one s own as China s is usually not for the mortal man For this work there is need for broad brotherly feeling for the feeling of the common bond of humanity and the cheer of good fellowship One must feel with pulse of the heart as well as see with the eyes of the

There must be too a certain detachment not from the country under examination for that is always so but from oneself and one s subconscious notions and from the deeply imbedded notions of one s childhood and the equally tyrannous ideas of one s adult days from those big words with capital letters like Democracy Prosperity Capital and Success and Religion and Dividends One needs a little detachment and a little simplicity of mind too that simplicity of mind so well typified by Robert Burns one of the most Scottish and yet most universal of all poets who strips our souls bare and reveals our common humanity and the loves and sorrows that common humanity is heir to Only with that detachment and that simplicity of mind can one understand a foreign nation

Who will then be her interpreters? The problem is an almost insoluble one Certainly not the sinologues and librarians abroad who see China only through the reflection of the Confucian classics The true Europeans in China do not speak Chinese and the true Chinese do not speak English The Europeans who speak Chinese too well develop certain mental habits akin to the Chinese and are regarded by their compatriots as queer The Chinese who speak English too well and develop Western mental habits are denationalized or they may not even speak Chinese or speak it with an English accent So by a process of elimination it would seem that we have to put up with the Old China Hand and that we have largely to depend upon his understanding of pidgin

The Old China Hand or O C H —let us stop to picture him for he is important as your only authority on China He has been well described by Mr Arthur Ransome* But to my mind he is a vivid personality and one can now easily picture him in the imagination Let us make no mistake about him He may be the son of a missionary or a captain or a pilot or a secretary in the consular

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* *The Chinese Puzzle* especially the chapter on The Shanghai Mind

service or he may be a merchant to whom China is just a market for selling sardines and sunkist oranges He is not always uneducated in fact he may be a brilliant journalist with one eye to a political advisorship and the other to a loan commission He may even be very well informed within his limits the limits of a man who cannot talk three syllables of Chinese and depends on his English speaking Chinese friends for his supplies of information But he keeps on with his adventure and he plays golf and his golf helps to keep him fit He drinks Lipton s tea and reads the *North China Daily News* and his spirit revolts against the morning reports of banditry and kidnapping and recurrent civil wars which spoil his breakfast for him He is well shaved and dresses more neatly than his Chinese associates and his boots are better shined than they would be in England although this is no credit to him for the Chinese boys are such good boot blacks He rides a distance of three or four miles from his home to his office every morning and believes himself desired at Miss Smith s tea He may have no aristocratic blood in his veins nor ancestral oil portraits in his halls but he can always circumvent that by going further back in history and discovering that his forefathers in the primeval forests had the right blood in them and that sets his mind at peace and relieves him of all anxiety to study things Chinese But he is also uncomfortable every time his business takes him through Chinese streets where the heathen eyes all stare at him He takes his handkerchief and vociferously blows his nose with it and bravely endures it all the while in a blue funk. He broadly surveys the wave of blue-dressed humanity It seems to him their eyes are not quite so slant as the shilling shocker covers represent them to be Can these people stab one in the back? It seems unbelievable in the beautiful sunlight but one never knows and the courage and sportsmanship which he learned at the cricket field all leave him Why he would rather be knocked in the head by a cricket bat than go through those crooked

streets again! Yes it was *fear*, primeval fear of the Unknown.

But to him it is not just that. It is his humanity that cannot stand the sight of human misery and poverty as understood in his own terms. He simply cannot stand being pulled by a human beast of burden in a rickshaw—he has to have a car. His car is not just a car; it is a moving covered corridor that leads from his home to his office and protects him from Chinese humanity. He will not leave his car and his civilization. He tells Miss Smith so at tea, saying that a car in China is not a luxury but a necessity. That three-mile ride of an enclosed mind in an enclosed glass case from the home to the office he takes every day of his twenty-five years in China, although he does not mention this fact when he goes home to England and signs himself "An Old Resident Twenty-Five Years in China" in correspondence to the London *Times*. It reads very impressively. Of course he should know what he is talking about.

Meanwhile that three-mile radius has seldom been exceeded, except when he goes on cross-country paper hunts over Chinese farm fields, but then he is out in the open and knows how to defend himself. But in this he is mistaken, for he never has to, and this he knows himself, for he merely says so when he is out for sport. He has never been invited to Chinese homes, has sedulously avoided Chinese restaurants, and has never read a single line of Chinese newspapers. He goes to the longest bar in the world of an evening, sips his cocktail and picks up and imbibes and exchanges bits of sailors' tales on the China coast handed down from the Portuguese sailors, and is sorry to find that Shanghai is not Sussex, and generally behaves as he would in England.* He feels happy when

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* A writer signing himself "J D" says in an article on "Englishmen in China" published in *The New Statesman*, London: "His life is spent between his office and the club. In the former he is surrounded by foreigners as equals or superiors and by Chinese as inferiors—clerks and so forth. In the latter, except for the servants, he sees nothing but foreigners, from whom every

he learns that the Chinese are beginning to observe Christmas and make progress and feels amazed when he is not understood in English he walks as if the whole lot of them did not exist for him and does not say sorry even in English when he steps on a fellow passenger s toes yes he has not even learned the Chinese equivalents of *danke sehr* and *bitte schon* and *verzeihen Sie* the minimum moral obligations of even a passing tourist and complains of anti foreignism and despairs because even the pillaging of the Pekin palaces after the Boxer Uprising has not taught the Chinese a lesson There is your authority on China Oh for a common bond of humanity!

All this one can understand and it is even quite natural and should not be mentioned here were it not for the fact that it bears closely on the formation of opinions on China in the West One needs only to think of the language difficulty of the almost impossible learning of the Chinese writing of the actual political intellectual and artistic chaos in present-day China and of the vast differences in customs between the Chinese and the Westerners The plea here is essentially for a better understanding on a higher level of intelligence Yet it is difficult to deny the Old China Hand the right to write books and articles about China simply because he cannot read the Chinese newspapers Nevertheless such books and articles must necessarily remain on the level of the gossip along the world s longest bar

There are exceptions of course—a Sir Robert Hart or a Bertrand Russell for example—who are able to see the meaning in a type of life so different from one s own but for one Sir Robert Hart there are ten thousand Rodney Gilberts and for one Bertrand Russell there are ten thousand H G W Woodheads The result is a constant

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night he hears complaints about Chinese dishonesty and stupidity interspersed by stories of the day s work and by discussions on sport which is the one thing that saves the Englishman in China It is the only alternative to abuse of the Chinese

unintelligent elaboration of the Chinaman as a stage fiction which is as childish as it is untrue and with which the West is so familiar and a continuation of the early Portuguese sailors tradition minus the sailors obscenity of language but with essentially the same sailors obscenity of mind

The Chinese sometimes wonder among themselves why China attracts only sailors and adventurers to her coast To understand that one would have to read H B Morse and trace the continuity of that sailor tradition to the present day and observe the similarities between the early Portuguese sailors and the modern O C H s in their general outlook their interest and the natural process of selection and force of circumstances which have washed them ashore on this corner of the earth and the motives which drove and are still driving them to this heathen country--gold and adventure Gold and adventure which in the first instance drove Columbus the greatest sailor adventurer of them all to seek a route to China

Then one begins to understand that continuity begins to understand how that Columbus sailor tradition has been so solidly and equitably carried on and one feels a sort of pity for China a pity that it is not our humanity but our gold and our capacities as buying animals which have attracted the Westerners to this Far Eastern shore It is gold and success Henry James s bitch goddess which have bound the Westerners and the Chinese together and thrown them into this whirlpool of obscenity with not a single human spiritual tie among them They do not admit this to themselves the Chinese and the English so the Chinese asks the Englishman why he does not leave the country if he hates it so and the Englishman asks in retort why the Chinese does not leave the foreign settlements and both of them do not know how to reply As it is the Englishman does not bother to make himself understood to the Chinese and the true Chinese bothers even less to make himself understood to the Englishman

III

But do the Chinese understand themselves? Will they be China's best interpreters? Self knowledge is proverbially difficult much more so in a circumstance where a great deal of wholesome sane minded criticism is required Assuredly no language difficulty exists for the educated Chinese but that long history of China is difficult for him also to master her arts philosophies poetry literature and the theatre are difficult for him to penetrate and illuminate with a clear and beautiful understanding and his own fellow men the fellow passenger in a street car or a former fellow student now pretending to rule the destiny of a whole province are for him too difficult to forgive

For the mass of foreground details which swamps the foreign observer swamps the modern Chinese as well Perhaps he has even less the cool detachment of the foreign observer In his breast is concealed a formidable struggle or several struggles There is the conflict between his ideal and his real China and a more formidable conflict between his primeval clan pride and his moments of admiration for the stranger His soul is torn by a conflict of loyalties belonging to opposite poles a loyalty to old China half romantic and half selfish and a loyalty to open-eyed wisdom which craves for change and a ruthless clean sweeping of all that is stale and putrid and dried up and mouldy Sometimes it is a more elementary conflict between shame and pride between sheer family loyalty and a critical ashamedness for the present state of things instincts wholesome in themselves But sometimes his clan pride gets the better of him and between proper pride and mere reactionism there is only a thin margin and sometimes his instinct of shame gets the better of him and between a sincere desire for reform and a mere shallow modernity and worship of the modern bitch goddess there is also only a very thin margin To escape that is indeed a delicate task

Where is that unity of understanding to be found? To combine real appreciation with critical appraisal to see with the mind and feel with the heart to make the mind and the heart at one is no easy state of grace to attain to For it involves no less than the salvaging of an old culture like the sorting of family treasures and even the connoisseur s eyes are sometimes deceived and his fingers sometimes falter It requires courage and that rare thing, honesty and that still rarer thing a constant questioning activity of the mind

But he has a distinct advantage over the foreign observer For he is a Chinese and as a Chinese he not only sees with his mind but he also feels with his heart and he knows that the blood surging in his veins in tides of pride and shame is Chinese blood a mystery of mysteries which carries within its bio-chemical constitution the past and the future of China bearer of all its pride and shame and of all its glories and its iniquities The analogy of the family treasure is therefore incomplete and inadequate for that unconscious national heritage is within him and is part of himself He has perhaps learned to play English football but he does *not love football* he has *perhaps* learned to admire American efficiency but his soul revolts against efficiency he has perhaps learned to use table napkins but he hates table napkins and all through Schubert s melodies and Brahms songs he hears as in overtone the echo of age old folk songs and pastoral lyrics of the Orient luring him back He explores the beauties and glories of the West but he comes back to the East his Oriental blood overcoming him when he is approaching forty He sees the portrait of his father wearing a Chinese silk cap and he discards his Western dress and slips into Chinese gowns and slippers oh so comfortable so peaceful and comfortable for in his Chinese gowns and slippers his soul comes to rest He cannot understand the Western dog-collar any more and wonders how he ever stood it for so long He does not play football any more either but begins to cultivate Chinese

hygiene and saunters along in the mulberry fields and bamboo groves and willow banks for his exercise and even this is not a country walk as the English understand it but just an Oriental saunter good for the body and good for the soul He hates the word exercise Exercise for what It is a ridiculous Western notion Why even the sight of respectable grown up men dashing about in a field for a ball now seems ridiculous supremely ridiculous and more ridiculous still the wrapping oneself up in hot flannels and woollen sweaters after the game on a hot summer day Why all the bother? He reflects He remembers he used to enjoy it himself but then he was young and immature and he was not himself It was but a passing fancy and he has not really the instinct for sport No he is born differently he is born for kowtowing and for quiet and peace and not for football and the dog-collar and table napkins and efficiency He sometimes thinks of himself as a pig, and the Westerner as a dog and the dog worries the pig but the pig only grunts and it may even be a grunt of satisfaction Why he even wants to be a pig a real pig for it is really so very comfortable and he does not envy the dog for his collar and his dog-efficiency and his bitch goddess success All he wants is that the dog leave him alone

That is how it is with the modern Chinese as he surveys Eastern and Western culture It is the only way in which the Eastern culture should be surveyed and understood For he has a Chinese father and a Chinese mother and every time he talks of China he thinks of his father and his mother or of the memories of them It was a life their lives so full of courage and patience and suffering and happiness and fortitude lives untouched by the modern influence but lives no less grand and noble and humble and sincere Then does he truly understand China That seems to me to be the only way of looking at China and of looking at any foreign nation by searching not for the exotic but for the common hum[illegible] by penetrating beneath the superficial [illegible]

ners and looking for real courtesy by seeing beneath the strange women s costumes and looking for real womanhood and motherhood by observing the boys naughtiness and studying the girls day dreams This boys naughtiness and these girls day-dreams and the ring of children s laughter and the patter of children s feet and the weeping of women and the sorrows of men — they are all alike and only through the sorrows of men and the weeping of women can we truly understand a nation The differences are only in the forms of social behaviour This is the basis of all sound international criticism

Chapter One

THE CHINESE PEOPLE

I NORTH AND SOUTH

IN the study of any period of literature or of any epoch of history the final and highest effort is always an attempt to gain a close view of the man in that period or epoch for behind the creations of literature and the events of history there is always the individual who is after all of prime interest to us One thinks of a Marcus Aurelius or a Lucian in the times of decadent Rome or of a Francois Villon in the mediev l ages and the times seem at once familiar and understandable to us Names like the age of Johnson are more suggestive to us than a name like the eighteenth century for only by recalling how Johnson lived the inns he frequented and the friends with whom he held conversations does the period become real to us Perhaps the life of a lesser literary light or of an ordinary Londoner in Johnson s time would be just as instructive but an ordinary Londoner could not be very interesting because ordinary people throughout the ages are all alike Whether ordinary people drink ale or Lipton s tea is entirely a matter of social accident and

can make no important difference because they are ordinary men

That Johnson smoked and that he frequented eighteenth century inns is however of great historical importance Great souls react in a peculiar way to their social environment and make it of importance to us They have that quality of genius which affects and is affected by the things they touch they are influenced by the books they read and by the women with whom they come into contact which make no impress on other lesser men In them is lived to its full the life of their age or generation they absorb all there is to absorb and respond with finest and most powerful sensitiveness

Yet in dealing with a country the common man cannot be ignored Ancient Greece was not entirely peopled by Sophocleses and Elizabethan England was not strewn with Bacons and Shakespeares To talk of Greece and only think of Sophocles and Pericles and Aspasia is to get a wrong picture of the Athenians One has to supplement it with an occasional glimpse of the son of Sophocles who *sued his father for incompetency in managing his family* affairs and with characters from Aristophanes who were not all in love with beauty and occupied in the pursuit of truth but who were often drunk gluttonous quarrelsome venal and fickle even as were common Athenians Perhaps the fickle Athenians help us to understand the downfall of the Athenian republic as much as Pericles and Aspasia help us to understand its greatness Individually they are naught but taken in the aggregate they influence to a very large measure the course of national events In the past epoch it may be difficult to reconstruct them but in a living country the common man is always with us

But who is the common man and what is he? The Chinaman exists only as a general abstraction in our minds Apart from the cultural unity which binds the Chinese people as a nation the southern Chinese differ probably as much from the northerners in physique and habits as the Mediterraneans

the Nordic peoples in Europe Happily within the orbit of the Chinese culture there has not been a rise of nationalism but only of provincialism which after all was what made peace within the empire possible for centuries The common historical tradition the written language which has in a singular way solved the problem of Esperanto in China and the cultural homogeneity achieved through centuries of slow peaceful penetration of a civilization over comparatively docile aborigines have achieved for China the basis of the common brotherhood so much desirable now in Europe Even the spoken language presents no difficulty nearly so great as confronts Europe to-day A native of Manchuria can with some difficulty make himself understood in south west Yunnan a linguistic feat made possible by a slow colonization process and helped greatly by the system of writing the visible symbol of China s unity

This cultural homogeneity sometimes makes us forget that racial differences differences of blood do exist within the country At close range the abstract notion of a Chinaman disappears and breaks up into a picture of a variety of races different in their stature temperament and mental make up It is only when we try to put a southern commander over northern soldiers that we are abruptly reminded of the existing differences For on the one hand we have the northern Chinese acclimatized to simple thinking and hard living tall and stalwart hale hearty and humorous onion eating and fun loving children of nature who are in every way more Mongolic and more conservative than the conglomeration of peoples near Shanghai and who suggest nothing of their loss of racial vigour They are the Honan boxers the Shantung bandits and the imperial brigands who have furnished China with all the native imperial dynasties the raw material from which the characters of Chinese novels of wars and adventure are drawn

Down the south east coast south of the Yangtse one meets a different type inured to ease and culture and

sophistication mentally developed but physically retrograde loving their poetry and their comforts sleek undergrown men and slim neurasthenic women fed on birds nest soup and lotus seeds shrewd in business gifted in *belles lettres* and cowardly in war ready to roll on the ground and cry for mamma before the lifted fist descends offsprings of the cultured Chinese families who crossed the Yangtse with their books and paintings during the end of the Ch in Dynasty when China was overrun by barbaric invaders

South in Kwangtung one meets again a different people where racial vigour is again in evidence where people eat like men and work like men enterprising carefree spendthrift pugnacious adventurous progressive and quick tempered where beneath the Chinese culture a snake eating aborigines tradition persists revealing a strong admixture of the blood of the ancient *Yueh* inhabitants of southern China North and south of Hankow in the middle of China the loud swearing and intrigue loving Hupeh people exist who are compared by the people of other provinces to nine headed birds in heaven because they never say die and who think pepper not hot enough to eat until they have fried it in oil while the Hunan people noted for their soldiery and their dogged persistence offer a pleasanter variety of these descendants of the ancient Ch u warriors

Movements of trade and the imperial rule of sending scholars to official posts outside their native provinces* have brought about some mixture of the peoples and have smoothed out these provincial differences but as a whole they continue to exist For the significant fact remains that the northerner is essentially a conqueror and the southerner is essentially a trader and that of all the imperial brigands who have founded Chinese dynasties none have come from south of the Yangtse The tradition developed that no rice-eating southerners could mount the

* Often the families of these officials settle down in their new homes

dragon throne and only noodle eating northerners could In fact with the exception of the founders of the T'ang and Chou Dynasties who emerged from north east Kansu and were therefore Turkish suspect all the founders of the great dynasties have come from a rather restricted mountainous area somewhere around the Lunghai Rail way which includes eastern Honan southern Hopei western Shantung and northern Anhui It should not be difficult to determine the mileage of the radius within which imperial babies were born with a point on the Lunghai Railway as the centre of the area The founder of the Han Dynasty came from Peihsien in modern Hsu chow that of the Ch in Dynasty came from Honan that of the Sung Dynasty came from Chohsien in southern Hopei and Chu Hungwu of the Ming Dynasty came from Fengyang in Honan

To this day with the exception of Chiang Kaishek of hekiang whose family history has not been made public the generals for the most part come from Hopei Shan tung Anhui and Honan also with the Lunghai Railway as the central point Shantung is responsible for Wu P eifu Chang Tsungch ang Sun Ch uanfang and Lu Yunghsiang Hopei gives us Ch i Hsuehyuan Li Ching lin Chang Chihchiang and Lu Chunglin Honan pro duced Yuan Shihk ai and Anhui produced Feng Yuhsiang and Tuan Ch ijui Kiangsu has produced no great gene rals but has given us some very fine hotel boys Over half a century ago Hunan in the middle of China pro duced Tseng Kuofan the exception that proves the rule for although Tseng was a first-class scholar and general being born south of the Yangtse and consequently a rice eater instead of a noodle eater he was destined to end up by being a high minded official and not by founding a new dynasty for China For this latter task one needed the rawness and ruggedness of the North a touch of genuine lovable vagabondage the gift of loving war and turmoil for its own sake—and a contempt for fair play learning and Confucian ethics until one is sitting secure

on the dragon throne when Confucian monarchism can be of extreme usefulness

The raw rugged North and the soft pliable South—one can see these differences in their language music and poetry Observe the contrast between the Shensi songs on the one hand sung to the metallic rhythm of hard wooden tablets and keyed to a high pitch like the Swiss mountain songs suggestive of the howling winds on mountain tops and broad pastures and desert sand-dunes and on the other the indolent Soochow crooning something that is between a sigh and a snore throaty nasal and highly suggestive of a worn out patient of asthma whose sighs and groans have by force of habit become swaying and rhythmic In language one sees the difference between the sonorous clear-cut rhythm of Pekingese mandarin that pleases by its alternate light and shade and the soft and sweet babbling of Soochow women with round lip vowels and circumflex tones where force of emphasis is not expressed by a greater explosion but by long-drawn out and finely nuanced syllables at the end of sentences

The story is recounted of a northern colonel who on reviewing a Soochow company could not make the soldiers move by his explosive Forward March! The captain who had stayed a long time in Soochow and who understood the situation asked permission to give the command in his own way The permission was granted Instead of the usual clearcut *K aipu chou!* he gave a genuine persuasive Soochow *Kebu tser nyaaaaaaaah!* * and lo and behold! the Soochow company moved

In poetry this difference is strikingly illustrated in the poems of the North and the South during the fourth fifth and sixth centuries when northern China was for the first time submerged under a Tartar rule and the cultured Chinese migrated southward For it was a time when sentimental love lyrics flourished in the southern courts and the southern rulers were many of them great lyric poets while a peculiar form of love ditties the *tzuyehko*

developed among the people A contrast between this sentimental poetry and the fresh naive poetry of the North would be highly instructive So sang the anonymous poet of the South in the popular ditties

> Kill the ever-crowing cock!
> Shoot the early announcer of the dawn!
> That there might be an uninterrupted
> Rolling darkness till Next Year s morn!

Or again

> The roads are muddy and forsaken
> Despite the cold I came to thee
> Go and look at the footprints in snow
> If thou wilt not believe me

During the Southern Sung Dynasty we saw a peculiar development of a sentimental lyric in intricate metre the *tz u* which invariably sang of the sad lady in her boudoir and her tearful red candles at night and sweet flavoured rouge and eyebrow pencils and silk curtains and beaded window screens and painted rails and departed springs and pining lovers and emaciated sweethearts It was natural that a people given to this kind of sentimental poetry should be conquered by a northern people who had but short naive lines of poetry taken as it were direct and without embellishment from the dreary northern landscape

> Down by the Chehleh river
> Beneath the Yin hills
> Like an inverted cup is the sky
> That covers the wasteland
> Enormous is the earth
> And the sky is a deep blue
> *The wind blows the tall grass bends*
> *And the sheep and cattle come into view*

It was with this song that a northern general after suffering a heavy defeat rallied his soldiers and sent them again to battle And in contrast to the southern songs of

love we have a general singing about a newly bought broadsword

> I have just bought me a five foot knife
> I swing it with a gleaming cadence
> I fondle it three times a day
> I wont change it for fifteen maidens!

Another song handed down to us reads

> In the distance I descry the Mengchin river
> The willows and poplars stand in silent grace
> I am a Mongols son
> And dont know Chinese lays
> A good rider requires a swift horse
> And a swift horse requires a good rider
> When it clatters off amidst a cloud of dust
> You know then who wins and whos the outsider *

Lines like these open up a vista of speculation as to the differences of northern and southern blood that went into the make up of the Chinese race and seem to make it possible to understand how a nation subjected to two thousand years of kowtowing and indoor living and a civilization without popular sports could avoid the fate of civic racial degeneration that overtook Egypt Greece and Rome and the other ancient civilizations How has China done it?

II Degeneration

Degeneration is a highly misleading term for it can only be relative in meaning Since the invention of the flush toilet and the vacuum carpet cleaner the modern man seems to judge a mans moral standards by his cleanliness and thinks a dog the more highly civilized for having a weekly bath and a winter wrapper round his belly I have heard sympathetic foreigners talking of Chinese farmers living like beasts whose first step of salvation

* These songs are quoted by Dr Hu Shih in support of the same thesis.

would seem to lie in a generous disinfection of their huts and belongings

Yet it is not dirt but the fear of dirt which is the sign of man s degeneration and it is dangerous to judge a man s physical and moral sanity by outside standards Actually the European man living in overheated apartments and luxurious cars is less fitted to survive than the Chinese farmer living in his lowly and undisinfected hut Nor is cruelty natural in all children and savages a sign of degeneration rather the fear of pain and suffering is a sign of it The dog which remembers only to bark and not to bite and is led through the streets as a lady s pet is only a degenerate wolf Even physical prowess of the type of Jack Dempsey s can lay no claim to human glory outside the ring but rather only the power to work and to e a happy life Not even a more highly developed animal whose body is a more sensitized and complicated organism with greater specialized powers and more refined desires is necessarily a more robust or healthy animal when life and survival and happiness come into the question The real question of physical and moral health in man as well as in animals is how well he is able to do his work and enjoy his life and how fit he is yet to survive

If one takes merely the physical evidences one can see clear traces of the effects of thousands of years of civilized life Man in China has adapted himself to a social and cultural environment that demands stamina resistance power and negative strength and he has lost a great part of mental and physical powers of conquest and adventure which characterized his forebears in the primeval forests The humour of the Chinese people in inventing gunpowder and finding its best use in making firecrackers for their grandfathers birthdays is merely symbolical of their inventiveness along merely pacific lines The preference for daintiness over power in art has a physical basis in man s lessened vitality and mellowed instincts and the preference for reasonableness over aggressiveness in phi

losophy may be actually traceable to the rounded chin and the amorphous face

So also have the contempt for physical prowess and sports and the general dislike of the strenuous life intimately to do with man s decreased bodily energy especially in the city living bourgeois class This is easily observable in a street car crowd or a faculty meeting where Europeans and Chinese are placed in a row side by side Unhygienic forms of living and the general overeating on the part of the bourgeois Chinese account in many cases for the drooping shoulders and the listless eye The constitutional differences between European and Chinese children at school age are unmistakable On the athletic field it is invariably found that boys who have a European father or mother distinguish themselves by their greater swiftness agility and general exuberance of energy while they seldom excel in tests of endurance and never in scholastic attainments The much vaunted bossing of the Hankow Nationalist Government in 1927 by a man called Borodin is due to the simple fact that the energetic Russian who is taking merely a second rate place at home did three times the work of a Chinese official and could talk the Chinese leaders to sleep until the latter had to give in in order to be let alone

Many Europeans in Shanghai wonder why they are dropped by their Chinese friends without realizing the simple reason that the latter are not able to stand the strain of a long and exciting conversation especially when it is in a foreign language Many a Sino European partnership matrimonial or commercial has been wrecked on the European s impatience with Chinese stodgy smugness and the Chinaman s impatience with the European s inability to keep still The way in which American jazz band conductors shake their knees and European passengers pace a steamship deck is to the Chinese highly ridiculous

With the exception of Chiang Kaishek and T V Soong the Chinese leaders do not work like a horse they

simply work like civilized human beings where life is regarded as not worth the bother of too much human effort and eventually if Chiang Kaishek and T V Soong come out on top it will be just on account of their greater stamina and capacity for drudgery It was T V Soong who using a Chinese idiom announced that he was as strong as an ox when he resigned and failed to give diabetes or hardened liver or tired nerves for his political resignation which all the rest of the Chinese officials unashamedly do A list of the physical and mental ailments from wrecked stomachs and overworked kidneys to shattered nerves and muddled heads publicly announced by the officials during their political sicknesses most of which are genuine would cover all the departments and wards of a modern hospital

With the exception of the late Sun Yatsen the Chinese leaders first rate scholars all do not keep up their reading and do not write A work like Trotzky s autobiography by a Chinese leader is simply unimaginable and even a *manifestly lucrative first-class biography of Sun Yatsen* has not yet been written by a Chinese almost a decade after the great leader s death nor are there adequate biographies of Tseng Kuofan or Li Hungchang or Yuan Shihkai

It seems the sipping of tea in the yamen and the interminable talking and eating of melon seeds at home have consumed all our scholars time Facts like these explain why gem like verses dainty essays short prefaces to friends works funeral sketches of friends lives and brief descriptions of travels comprise the works of ninety five per cent of the famous Chinese authors When one cannot be powerful one must choose to be dainty and when one cannot be aggressive one has to make a virtue of reasonableness Only once in a while do we meet a Ssuma Ch ien or a Cheng Ch iao or a Ku Yenwu whose prodigious labours suggest to us the indefatigable bodily energy of a Balzac or a Victor Hugo That is what two thousand years of kowtowing could do to a nation

A study of the hair and skin of the people also seems to indicate what must be considered results of millenniums of civilized indoor living The general lack or extreme paucity of beard on man s face is one instance of such effect a fact which makes it possible for most Chinese men not to know the use of a personal razor Hair on men s chests is unknown and a moustache on a woman s face not so rare in Europe is out of the question in China On good authority from medical doctors and from references in writing one knows that a perfectly bare *mons veneris* is not uncommon in Chinese women The pores of the skin are finer than those of the Europeans with the result that Chinese ladies on the whole have more delicate complexions than have European ladies and their muscles are considerably more flabby an ideal consciously cultivated through the institution of footbinding which has other sex appeals The Chinese are evidently aware of this effect for in Hsinfeng Kwangtung keepers of poultry yards keep their chickens shut up for life in a dark coop without room for movement giving us the Hsinfeng chicken noted for its extreme tenderness Glandular secretions from the skin must have correspondingly decreased for the Chinese explain the foreigners habit of taking their (imagined) daily baths by their comparatively stronger bodily odour Perhaps the most marked difference is in the loss of the full rich resonant quality in the Chinese voice compared with that of the Europeans

While facts regarding the senses are not to my knowledge available there is no reason to suppose a deterioration in the fine use of the ears and the eyes The refined olfactory sense is reflected in the Chinese *cuisine* and in the fact that in Peking one speaks of kissing a baby as smelling a baby which is what is done actually The Chinese literary language has also many equivalents of the French *odeur de femme* like flesh odour and fragrance from marble (a woman s body) On the other hand sensitiveness to cold and heat and pain and general

the hands of these conquerors The problem is then how in the midst of this political subjugation the nation remained as a nation not how the nation warded off these military disasters as Christendom stopped the advance of the Moslems at the battle of Tours but how it survived these disasters and in fact profited from them by the infusion of new blood without losing its racial individuality or cultural continuity The national life it seems was organised on such a pattern that the loss of the pristine vigour did not mean the loss of racial stamina and power for resistance The key to this racial stamina and power for resistance is the key to China s survival

The infusion of new blood must explain to a large extent the racial vigour that the Chinese people possess today Historically this occurs with such striking regularity at the interval of every eight hundred years as to lead one to suppose that actually a periodic regeneration of the race was necessary and that it was the internal degeneration of the moral fibre of the people that brought about these periodic upheavals rather than vice versa Dr J S Lee in a striking paper on The Periodic Recurrence of Internecine Wars in China * has made a statistical study of these occurrences which reveal an exact parallelism in these cycles of peace and disorder which far exceeds the limit of probability and is perhaps too exact to be expected from the proceedings of human affairs

For the striking fact is that Chinese history can be conveniently divided into cycles of eight hundred years Each cycle begins with a short lived and militarily strong dynasty which unified China after centuries of internal strife Then follow four or five hundred years of peace with one change of dynasty succeeded by successive waves of wars resulting soon in the removal of the capital from the North to the South Then came secession and rivalry between North and South with increasing intensity followed by subjugation under a foreign rule which ended the cycle

* *The China Journal of Science and Arts* March and April, 1931

History then repeats itself and with the unification of China again under Chinese rule there is a new bloom of culture

The parallelism of events within each cycle unfolded itself with an unreasonable mechanical exactness as to time and sequence Dr Lee mentions for instance the undertaking of a great engineering feat which was repeated with fatal regularity and at the exact stage in each cycle namely immediately at the beginning of a new bloom of culture for the first cycle the building of the Great Wall under the Ch in Dynasty and the colossal palaces the *Ofangkung* which were soon subjected to a conflagration lasting three months for the second cycle the building of the Grand Canal under the Sui Emperor who had also magnificent palaces noted for their grandeur and luxury and for the third cycle the rebuilding of the Great Wall in which form it has survived to the present day the opening up of several new canals and dams and the building of the city of Peking under the Emperor Yunglo of the Ming Dynasty who was also famous for his great Yunglo Library

These cycles comprise (1) from the Ch in Dynasty to the end of the Six Dynasties and the Tartar invasion (221 B C A D 588) covering about 830 years (2) from the Sui Dynasty to the Mongol invasion (589 1367) covering about 780 years and (3) the modern cycle from the Ming Dynasty to the present time a cycle which is yet uncompleted but which has so far unfolded itself in the last six hundred years with amazing fidelity to the previous pattern The peace of five hundred years which was granted us under the Ming and Manchu Dynasties seems to have run its due course and with the Taiping Rebellion in the 1850 s which marked the first big wave of internecine wars we are on the crescendo of disorder and of internecine strife which so far has lived up to its tradition in the removal of the capital from Peking to Nanking in 1927

It is almost prophetic to note that a division between North and South and the subjugation of Northern China

by a foreign race for the outstanding two hundred years have not yet come *

The following diagrams are reproduced here partly for their intrinsic interest and partly because they are the best short summary of China's political history of over two thousand years within the scope of a printed page The curves represent the frequency of wars in China proper

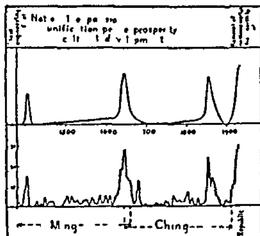
Dr Lee also mentions the fact that the same parallelism may be observed in the Chou Period preceding the first cycle in the diagram The Chou Dynasty which represented the first bloom of Chinese culture lasted officially 900 years beginning in the year 1122 B C After the first four hundred and fifty years of comparative peace and expansion inside China the capital was moved east owing to pressure from the north west in 770 B C from which date on we see increasing wars and strifes among the kingdoms with the central government steadily losing its control over the feudal lords giving us the *Ch'unch'iu* Period of Confucius Annals (722-481 B C) and the later *Chankuo* Period or the Period of the Warring Kingdoms (402 221 B C) with Ch'u constantly extending its territory to virtually the whole southern part of the then civilized China The cycle was then closed with the conquest and reunification of the whole of China by a tribe with a strong mixture of barbarian blood and foreign customs led by the great Ch'in Emperor

Facts like these call for an explanation ethnological economic or climatic Over population which in its nature can be regularly reached in four or five hundred years of peace seems to be an important factor Peace and culture in any country in the world for over five hundred years are unknown to history and there is no reason why China should be an exception Yet the re

* A mixture of Chinese and Japanese blood though very rare has already produced two rather noteworthy Chinese Koxinga a good general carrying on a losing campaign against the Manchus and Su Manshu a delicate poet in the beginning of the present century

First Cycle (221 B.C.-A.D. 588) *c.* 830 years

Second Cycle (589-1367) *c.* 780 years



Modern Cycle (1368 to the present)

view of China's literary history seems to offer another obvious explanation. There was a decadence of moral fibre reflected in poetry and literature during these periods of northern and southern secession and rivalry, as already seen in the poems quoted above in this chapter. The period of northern invasion in the first cycle, the so-called Six Dynasties, from Eastern Chin to the unification of China under Sui, during which North China was overrun with barbaric conquerors, and the period of northern invasion in the second cycle, from the Southern Sung Dynasty to the Mongol Dynasty inclusive, seem to have corresponded with periods of effeminacy of living and decadence of literary style, the first period noted for its artificial and flowery *ssuliu* euphuistic prose, and the second for its effeminate sentimental poetry. One observes, in fact, not a paucity but an over-abundance of words played out to their finest nuances with no

the smell of the soil but the decadent cultivated super refined flavour of court perfume The Chinese showed a certain *fin de siecle* delight in the sounds of words and an extreme refinement in literary and artistic criticism, and in aristocratic habits of living

For it was in these periods that painting and calligraphy flourished and aristocratic families rose and established themselves to carry on the artistic tradition. Chinese literary criticism first became conscious of itself in the Six Dynasties and Wang Hsichih the first and greatest calligraphist who was born of a great aristocratic family lived in this period Political weakness and disgrace somehow coincided with artistic refinement and southern China was ruled in these periods by kings who could not keep their thrones secure but could write exquisite verse Such ruler poets were Liang Wuti Nant ang Houchu and Ch en Houchu all of them kings of extremely short lived dynasties and writers of tender love lyrics The Emperor Huichung of the Southern Sung Dynasty was also a noted painter

Yet it was in these periods that the germ for the racial revival was laid For the northern conquerors remained conquerors only in official power the substrata remaining Chinese The great Northern Wei Dynasty whose rulers were of the Sienpei race not only adopted Chinese culture but also freely intermarried with the Chinese So were the so-called Kin (Manchu) kingdoms in the Sung Dynasty largely Chinese A fermenting process was at work Even culturally these periods were periods of penetration of foreign influence notably that of Buddhism and Indian sculpture in the end of the first cycle and of Mongol drama and music in that of the second cycle The clearest effect of this ethnological mixture is perhaps to be found in the linguistic and physical traits of the modern northern Chinese with altered tones and hardened consonants in the language and a taller stature and a gay rustic humour in the people It was this

amalgamation of foreign blood that accounted for to a large extent the race's long survival

IV CULTURAL STABILITY

Yet this does not explain all The question remains how it was possible for the nation to survive these periodic political disasters and not be submerged by them as old Rome was submerged under the Lombards Wherein does that racial stamina and capacity for absorbing foreign blood consist? Only by going deeper into these problems can one gain a real understanding of the situation as it stands to-day

The so-called racial stamina and racial vitality which in spite of the retrograde character of the Chinese bourgeois class enabled the Chinese people to survive political disasters and regenerate itself through foreign blood is partly constitutional and partly cultural Among the cultural forces making for racial stability must be counted first of all the Chinese family system which was so well-defined and organized as to make it impossible for a man to forget where his lineage belonged This form of social immortality which the Chinese prize above all earthly possessions has something of the character of a religion which is enhanced by the ritual of ancestor worship and the consciousness of it has penetrated deep into the Chinese soul

Such a well-organized and religiously conceived family system was of tremendous force when the Chinese race was thrown into contact with a foreign people with a less well-defined family consciousness Barbaric tribes or children of mixed parentage were all too anxious to join the family and claim part of the family immortality indulging in the luxurious feeling that when one dies one does not die but one's self lives on in the great stream of the family life The family system also acted as a direct incentive to quantitative reproduction for in order that the Lin branch should survive it is necessary that many Lin babies should come into this world

Perhaps it was due entirely to the family system that the Chinese were able to absorb the Jews of Honan who to-day are so thoroughly sinolized that their Jewish tradition of not eating pork has become a mere memory The race consciousness of the Jews can be shamed into oblivion only by the greater race consciousness of the family minded Chinese and it was no mean accomplishment in the ethnological field With a less race conscious and race proud people than the Jews like the northern Tartars for instance it is easy to see that the Chinese native inhabitants were placed in a great advantage over their foreign invaders It is in this sense that Manchuria will remain Chinese in spite of all Japanese machinations the political order may be changed and rulers may come and rulers may go but the Chinese families will remain Chinese families

Another cultural force making for social stability was e complete absence of established classes in China and he opportunity open for all to rise in the social scale through the imperial examination system While the family system accounted for their survival through fecundity the imperial examination system effected a qualitative selection and enabled talent to reproduce and propagate itself This system which was started in the T ang Dynasty and based on the ultimate Chinese belief that no man is born noble * had its rudiments in the system of civil service and official recommendations in the Han Dynasty After the Wei and Ch in Dynasties (third and fourth centuries A D) a change in the control of selection for office brought about a system favouring influential families so much so that it was stated that there were no poor scholars in the higher classes and no sons of official families in the lower classes † This favoured the growth of aristocratic families in the Ch in Dynasty

* The Chinese for this is There is no blood in premiers and generals

† These refer to the nine classes of scholars in the Ch in Dynasty

With the imperial examination system in the T'ang Dynasty (seventh to ninth centuries inclusive) a system was put into effect which however it was modified in the following dynasties maintained down to 1905 an open door for all to rise from poverty to power and fame While the tests were necessarily somewhat mechanical in nature and were not devised to attract real genius they were suitable for selecting talent and might be regarded as intelligence tests Such a system made possible a constant infiltration of talent from the country to the cities thereby making up for the loss of racial vigour in the upper classes and maintaining a cycle of internal re generation so much needed for social health Viewed across the centuries it must have had a selective effect on the quality of the ruling class that made for social stability

What seems still more important is the fact that the ruling class not only came from the country but also re turned to the country as the rural mode of life was al ways regarded as the ideal This rural ideal in art philosophy and life so deeply imbedded in the Chinese general consciousness must account in a large measure for the racial health to-day Did the creators of the Chinese pattern of life do more wisely than they knew in main taining a level between civilization and the primitive habits of living? Was it their sound instinct which guided them to choose the agricultural civilization to hate mecha nical ingenuity and love the simple ways of life to in vent the comforts of life without being enslaved by them and to preach from generation to generation in their poetry painting and literature the return to the farm ?

For to be close to nature is to have physical and moral health Man in the country does not degenerate only man in the cities does To scholars and well to-do fami lies in the cities persistently the call of the good earth comes The family letters and instructions of well known scholars abound in such counsel and reveal an important aspect of the Chinese civilization an aspect which subtly

but profoundly accounts for its long survival I select at random from the extremely precious family letters of Cheng Panch iao to his younger brother letters that should be counted among the greatest in the world

The house you bought is well enclosed and indeed suitable for residence only I feel the courtyard is too small and when you look at the sky it is not big enough With my unfettered nature I do not like it Only a hundred steps north from this house there is the Parrot Bridge and another thirty steps from the Bridge is the Plum Tower with vacant spaces all around When I was drinking in this Tower in my young days I used to look out and see the willow banks and the little wooden bridge with decrepit huts and wild flowers against a background of old city walls, and was quite fascinated by it If you could get fifty thousand cash you could buy a big lot for me to build my cottage there for my latter days My intention is to build an earthen wall around it and plant lots of bamboos and flowers and trees I am going to have a garden path of paved pebbles leading from the gate to the house door There will be two rooms one for the parlour one for the study where I can keep books paintings brushes ink slabs wine kettle and tea service and where I can discuss poetry and literature with some good friends and the younger generation Behind this will be the family living rooms with three main rooms two kitchens and one servants room Altogether there will be eight rooms all covered with grass sheds and I shall be quite content Early in the morning before sunrise I could look east and see the red glow of the morning clouds and at sunset the sun will shine from behind the trees When one stands upon a high place in the courtyard one can already see the bridge and the clouds and waters in the distance and when giving a party at night one can see the lights of the neighbours outside the wall This will be only thirty steps to your house on the south and will be separated from the little

garden on the east by a small creek So it is quite ideal Some may say this is indeed very comfortable only there may be burglars They do not know that burglars are also but poor people I would open the door and invite them to come in and discuss with them what they may share Whatever there is they can take away and if nothing will really suit them they may even take away the great Wang Hsienchih s old carpet to pawn it for a hundred cash Please my younger brother bear this in mind for this is your stupid brother s provision for spending a happy old age I wonder whether I may have what I so desire

This is typical of the sentiment in Chinese literature This rural ideal of Cheng Panch iao s is as much based on his poetic feeling of common brotherhood with the poor peasant which comes natural to a Taoistic soul as the rural ideal of Tseng Kuofan s is based on the desire for the preservation for the family and closely connected with the Confucian family system For the rural ideal of life is part of the social system which makes the family the unit and part of the politico-cultural system which makes the village the unit It may be amusing to learn that Tseng Kuofan the great general and first minister of his times in his family letters to his children and nephews continually warned them against extravagant habits and advised them to plant vegetables rear pigs and manure their own farms yet such advice on frugality and industry was expressly given with the aim that the family prosperity might be prolonged

If simplicity can keep a family integrity long it should do the same for the national integrity For to Tseng Kuofan it was plain that the official families whose children learn expensive habits of living prosper only for a generation or two the merchant families who are industrious and frugal may prosper for three or four generations the families who till the ground and study books and have simple and careful habits prosper for five or six generations while the families who have the

century Tales of imagination like the *Hsiyuchi* came about the same time when the Chinese imagination was stimulated by Buddhism The novel as such really had a humble beginning only in the ninth century had its mature development late in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Ming) and reached its climax in the beginning of the Manchu Dynasty with the *Red Chamber Dream* a contemporary and Oriental counterpart of *Clarissa Harlowe* Had China s cultural life flowered and then ended a few centuries after Confucius as the Greek genius did there would have been only some fine moral maxims and folk lyrics and certainly none of China s great paintings novels and architecture to offer to the world This sounds as if we are not watching the arrested development of a nation that reached its full bloom in its young Golden Age like Greece and Rome but that that we are watching the prolonged childhood of a race that took millenniums to reach full development and then is perhaps still courageous enough for further spiritual adventure

Chapter Two

THE CHINESE CHARACTER

I MELLOWNESS

CHARACTER is a typically English word Apart from the English few nations have laid such stress on character in their ideal of education and manhood as the Chinese The Chinese seem to be so preoccupied with it that in their whole philosophy they have not been able to think of anything else Totally devoid of any extra mundane interests and without getting involved in any religious claptrap this ideal of building of character has through the influence of their literature the theatre and proverbs permeated to the lowliest peasant and provided him with a philosophy of life But while the English word

character suggests strength courage guts and look ing merely glum in moments of anger or disappointment the Chinese word for character brings to us the vision of a mature man of mellow temperament retaining an equa nimity of mind under all circumstances with a complete understanding not only of himself but of his fellow men

The Sung philosophy has a tremendous confidence in the power and supremacy of the mind over emotions and an overweening assurance that the human mind through its understanding of oneself and of one s fellow men is able to adjust itself to the most unfavourable circumstances and triumph over them *The Great Learning* the Con fucian primer with which Chinese schoolboys used to begin their first lesson at school defines the great learn ing as consisting of the attainment of a *clear* character which is almost an impossible English expression but by which is meant the illumination of understanding deve loped and cultivated through knowledge A mellow understanding of life and of human nature is and always has been the Chinese ideal of character and from that understanding other qualities are derived such as paci fism contentment calm and strength of endurance which distinguish the Chinese character Strength of character is really strength of the mind according to the Confu cianists When a man has cultivated these virtues through mental discipline we say he has developed his character

Very often these virtues are attained also through the help of Confucian fatalism For contrary to the general belief fatalism is a great source of peace and content ment A beautiful and talented girl may rebel against an unsuitable marriage but if the peculiar circumstances of her meeting with her fiance can convince her that it is the gods who have decreed the match she can at once through an act of understanding become a happy and contented wife For the husband has in her eyes be come a predestined enemy and the Chinese proverb says predestined enemies will always meet in a narrow alleyway With that understanding they can love and

fight each other furiously ever after knowing all the time that the gods are looking on and causing them all this trouble

If we review the Chinese race and try to picture their national characteristics we shall probably find the following traits of character (1) sanity (2) simplicity (3) love of nature (4) patience (5) indifference (6) old roguery (7) fecundity (8) industry (9) frugality (10) love of family life (11) pacifism (12) contentment (13) humour (14) conservatism and (15) sensuality They are on the whole simple great qualities that would adorn any nation * Some of these characteristics are vices rather than virtues and others are neutral qualities they are the weakness as well as the strength of the Chinese nation Too much mental sanity often clips imagination of its wings and deprives the race of its moments of blissful madness pacifism can become a vice of cowardice patience again may bring about a morbid tolerance of evil conservatism may at times be a mere synonym for sloth and laziness and fecundity may be a racial virtue but an individual vice

But all these qualities may be summed up in the word *mellowness* They are passive qualities suggestive of calm and passive strength rather than as youthful vigour and romance They suggest the qualities of a civilization built for strength and endurance rather than for progress and conquest For it is a civilization which enables man to find peace under any circumstance and when a man is at peace with himself he cannot understand the youthful enthusiasm for progress and reform It is the old culture of an old people who know life for what it is worth and do not strive for the unattainable The

* I have not put down honesty because all over the world farming people are honest and the reputation of the Chinese merchant for honesty is only a concomitant of his provincial method of doing business and a mere result of the predominance of the rural pattern and ideal of life When Chinese are put in a seaport they lose to a marked extent that pristine [illegible] and can be as dishonest as any Wall Street stock jobber

supremacy of the Chinese mind flays its own hopes and desires and by making the supreme realization that ha ness is an unattainable bluebird and giving up the q for it—taking a step backwards as the Chinese ex pression goes—it finds happiness nestling in its own hand almost strangled to death during the hot pursuit of imagined shadow As a Ming scholar puts it by losin that pawn one wins the whole game

This so-called mellowness is the result of a certain typ of environment In fact all national qualities have a organic unity which finds its explanation in the kind c social and political soil that nourishes them For mellow ness somehow grows naturally out of the Chinese en vironment as a peculiar variety of pear grows out of it natural soil There are American born Chinese brough up in a different environment who are totally devoid c the characteristics of the common Chinese and who ca break up a faculty meeting by the sheer force of thei uncouth nasal twang and their direct forceful speech a speech which knows no fine modulations They lac that supreme unique mellowness peculiar to the sons o Cathay On the other hand Chinese college youths ar considerably more mature than American students of th same age for even young Chinese freshmen in America universities cannot get interested in football and motor cars They have already other and more mature in rests* Most probably they are already married They have wives and families to think about their parents to remember and perhaps some cousins to help throug school Responsibility makes men sober and a nationa cultural tradition helps them to think sanely about lif at a period earlier than they could arrive at individually

* It is extremely dangerous therefore to send fresh Am college graduates out to China as missionaries and put over Chinese teachers or preachers twice as mature as t selves Many of them have not even tasted the agony of love

But their mellowness does not come from books it omes from a society which is apt to laugh young en iusiasm out of court. The Chinese have a certain con :mpt for young enthusiasm and for new brooms that will weep this universe clean By laughing at that enthu iasm and at the belief that everything is possible in the vorld Chinese society early teaches the young to hold heir tongues while their elders are speaking Very soon he Chinese youth learns this and instead of being foolish nough to support any proposed scheme or socialistic enture he learns to comment unfavourably upon it ointing out all the possible difficulties and in that way ets his pass into mature society Then after coming ack from Europe or America he begins to manufacture ooth paste and calls it saving the country by indus rialization or he translates some American free verse nd calls it introduction of the Western culture And ince he has usually a big family to support and some ousins for whom to secure positions he cannot remain . school teacher if he is in the teaching profession but nust think of ways and means to rise higher perhaps ecome a dean and in that way become a *good* member f his family That process of trying to rise higher teaches im some memorable lessons of life and human nature nd if he escapes all that experience and remains a round yed innocent hot headed young man at thirty still en husiastic for progress and reform he is either an inspired diot or a confounded genius

II PATIENCE

Let us take the three worst and most striking charac eristics patience indifference and old roguery and see iow they arose I believe that these are effects of cul ure and environment and hence are not necessarily a art of the Chinese mental make up They are here to-lay because for thousands of years we have been livi inder certain cultural and social influences The

inference is that when these influences are removed the qualities will also correspondingly diminish or disappear The quality of patience is the result of racial adjustment to a condition where over population and economic pressure leave very little elbow room for people to move about and is in particular a result of the family system which is a miniature of Chinese society Indifference is largely due to the lack of legal protection and constitutional guarantee for personal liberty Old roguery is due for lack of a better word to the Taoistic view of life Of course all these qualities are products of the same environment and it is only for the sake of clearness that one assigns a single cause for any resulting quality

That patience is a noble virtue of the Chinese people no one who knows them will gainsay There is so of this virtue that it has almost become a vice with them The Chinese people have put up with more tyranny anarchy and misrule than any Western people will ever put up with and seem to have regarded them as part of the laws of nature In certain parts of Szechuen the people have been taxed thirty years in advance without showing more energetic protest than a half audible curse in the privacy of the household Christian patience would seem like petulance compared with Chinese patience which is as unique as Chinese blue porcelain is unique The world tourists would do well to bring home with them some of this Chinese patience along with Chinese blue porcelain for true individuality cannot be copied We submit to tyranny and extortion as small fish swim into the mouth of a big fish Perhaps had our capacity for sufferance been smaller our sufferings would also be less As it is this capacity for putting up with insults has been ennobled by the name of patience and deliberately inculcated as a cardinal virtue by Confucian ethics I am not saying that this patience is not a great quality of the Chinese people Jesus said Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth and I am not sure but that Chinese patience has enabled us to inherit half a continent and keep it The

Chinese also inculcate it consciously as a high moral virtue As our saying goes A man who cannot tolerate small ills can never accomplish great things

The training school for developing this virtue is however the big family where a large number of daughters in law brothers in law fathers and sons daily learn this virtue by trying to endure one another In the big family where a closed door is an offence and where there is very little elbow room for the individuals one learns by necessity and by parental instruction from early childhood the need for mutual toleration and adjustments in human relationships The deep slow everyday wearing effect on character can scarcely be over estimated

There was once a prime minister Chang Kungni who was much envied for his earthly blessedness of having nine generations living together under the same roof Once the emperor T'ang Kaochung asked him the secret of his success and the minister asked for a brush and paper on which he wrote a hundred times the character patience or endurance Instead of taking that as a sad commentary on the family system the Chinese people have ever after envied his example and the phrase hundred patience (*po jen*) has passed into current moral proverbs which are written on red paper and pasted on all house doors on New Year s Day *peaceableness brings good luck* *patience is the best family heritage* etc But so long as the family system exists and so long as society is built on the principle that a man is not an individual but attains his full being only in living in harmonious social relationships it is easy to see how patience must be regarded as a supreme virtue and must grow naturally out of the social system For in such a society patience has a reason for existence

III INDIFFERENCE

But if the Chinese people are unique in their they are still more justly famous for their ind

This again I believe is a product of social environment. There is no more significant contrast than that between the parting instruction of Tom Brown's mother in the English classic *Tom Brown's School Days* to "hold his head high and answer straight" and the traditional parting instruction of the Chinese mother that her son should "not meddle with public affairs". This is so because in a society where legal protection is not given to personal rights, indifference is always safe and has an attractive side to it difficult for Westerners to appreciate.

I think this indifference is not a natural characteristic of the people, but is a conscious product of our culture, deliberately inculcated by our old world wisdom under the special circumstances. Taine once said that vice and virtue are products like sugar and vitriol. Without taking such an absolute view, one can nevertheless subscribe to the general statement that any virtue will be more generally encouraged in a society where that virtue is easily seen to be "good", and is more likely to be generally accepted as part of life.

The Chinese people take to indifference as Englishmen take to umbrellas, because the political weather always looks a little ominous for the individual who ventures a little too far out alone. In other words, indifference has a distinct "survival value" in China. Chinese youths are as public-spirited as foreign youths, and Chinese hotheads show as much desire to "meddle with public affairs" as those in any other country. But somewhere between their twenty-fifth and their thirtieth years, they all become wise ("*hsueh kuai liao*" as we say) and acquire this indifference which contributes a lot to their mellowness and culture. Some learn it by native intelligence, and others by getting their fingers burned once or twice. All old people play safely because all old rogues have learned the benefits of indifference in a society where personal rights are not guaranteed and where getting one's fingers burned once is bad enough.

The survival value of indifference consists therefore in the fact that in the absence of protection of personal rights it is highly unsafe for a man to take too much interest in public affairs or "idle affairs" as we call them. When Shao P'iao-p'ing and Lin Poshui, two of our most daring journalists, got shot by a Manchurian war lord in Peiping in 1926 without even a trial, the other journalists naturally learned the virtue of this indifference in no time and became wise. The most successful journalists in China are those who have no opinion of their own. Like all Chinese gentlemen and like the Western diplomats, they are proud of committing themselves to no opinion on life in general and on the crying question of the hour in particular.* What else can they do? One can be public-spirited when there is a guarantee for personal rights and one's only look-out is the libel law. When these rights are not protected, however, our instinct of self-preservation tells us that indifference is our best constitutional guarantee for personal liberty.

In other words, indifference is not a high moral virtue but a social attitude made necessary by the absence of legal protection. It is a form of self-protection developed in the same manner as the tortoise develops its shell. The famous Chinese apathetic gaze is only a self-protective gaze acquired by a lot of culture and self-discipline. This is borne out by the fact that Chinese robbers and bandits who do not depend upon legal protection do not develop this indifference, but are the most chivalrous and public-spirited class of people we know in China. Chinese chivalry under the name of *haohsieh* is invariably associated with the robbers as in *Shuihu*. The vicarious pleasure derived in reading the life and adventures of such heroes accounts for the popularity of such novels in the

* The oldest and biggest daily paper in China, *Shun Pao*, formerly enjoyed the reputation of editorially handling (1) foreign and not domestic questions, (2) distant and not immediate topics, and (3) general and not specific subjects like "The Importance of Diligence"

ward Then came the reaction and the cult of indifference and the developing crazes for wine women poetry and Taoistic occultism Some of the scholars went into the mountains and built themselves mudhouses without a door receiving their food through a window till their death Others disguised themselves as woodcutters and begged *their relatives to save them from recognition by refraining* from making calls

Immediately after that came the seven poets or the Pleiade of the Bamboo Grove Liu Ling a great poet could go on a drunken fit for months He used to travel on a cart with a jug of wine a shovel and a grave-digger giving the latter the order as they started *Bury me when I am dead'—anywhere any time* People admired him and called him clever All scholars affected either extreme rusticity or extreme sensuality and extreme superficiality Another great poet Yuan Hsien had illicit relations with his maid When he learned at a public feast that his wife had sent the maid away he immediately borrowed a horse from a friend and galloped off after the maid until he overtook her and carried her back on horseback in the presence of all the guests These were the people who became admired for their cleverness People admired them as a small tortoise admires the thick shell of a big tortoise

Here we seem to have laid our finger on the fatal disease of the body politic and to see the origin of that indifference which explains the proverbial inability of the Chinese people to organize themselves It would seem that the curing of the disease is simple by having constitutional protection for the people s civil rights Yet no one has seen the far reaching consequences of this No one desires it No one sincerely wants it

IV Old Roguery

Perhaps the most striking quality of the Chinese is what for want of a better term must be

old roguery It is the most difficult characteristic to explain to a Westerner and yet at the same time it is most profound in that it goes back directly to a different philosophy of life Compared with this view of life the whole fabric of Western civilization seems extremely raw and immature When a young man tries to drag his old grand father from his fireside for a sea bath on a September morning and fails to do so the young man will perhaps show angered astonishment while the old man will merely show a smile of amusement That smile is the smile of the old rogue and it is difficult to say which one is right All this bustle and restlessness of the spirit of the young man—where will it all lead to? And all this enthusiasm and self assertion and struggle and war and hot headed nationalism—where will it all end and what is it all for? Perhaps it will be futile to find an answer to the question and equally futile to force one party to accept the view of the other since it is all a matter of age

An old rogue is a man who has seen a lot of life and who is materialistic nonchalant and sceptical of progress At its best this old roguery gives us mellowness and good temper which in old men make many girls prefer them for husbands For if life is worth anything it is that it teaches a lesson of kindliness The Chinese people have arrived at this point of view not by having found any religious sanction for it but from a profound observation and a knowledge of the vicissitudes of life. *Typical of* this extremely shrewd philosophy is the following famous dialogue of two poet monks of the T ang Dynasty

> Once Hanshan asked Shihteh If one slanders me insults me sneers at me despises me injures me hates me and deceives me what should I do? Shihteh replied Only bear with him yield to him let him avoid him endure him respect him and ignore him *And after a few years you just look at him*

In myriad other forms this spirit of Laotse finds expression in our literature poetry and proverbs Whether

the expression be By losing that pawn one wins the whole game or Of all the thirty six alternatives running away is the best or A true hero never incurs present risk or Taking a step backwards in your thought this attitude toward life s problems has permeated the whole fibre of Chinese thought Life is then full of second thoughts and of the thirty sixth alternatives its angularities are smoothed off and one achieves that true mellowness which is the mark of Chinese culture

At its worst this old roguery which is the highest product of Chinese intelligence works against idealism and action It shatters all desire for reform laughs at the futility of human effort and renders the Chinese people incapable of idealism and action It has a strange way of reducing all human activities to the level of the alimentary canal and other simple biologic needs Mencius was a great rogue when he declared the chief desires of mankind to be food and women or alimentation and reproduction The late President Li Yuanhung was also a great rogue when he pronounced the heartily accepted dictum of Chinese political philosophy and formula for solving all Chinese party differences by saying *When there is rice let everybody share it* President Li was a grim realist without knowing it and he spoke wiser than he knew when he was thus giving an economic interpretation of current Chinese history The economic interpretation of history is not new to the Chinese people nor is the biologic interpretation of human life of the Emile Zola school With Zola it is an intellectual fad but with us it is a matter of national consciousness In China one does not have to learn to become a realist here one is born a realist President Li Yuanhung was never noted for power of cerebration but as a Chinese he instinctively felt that all political problems are not and should not be anything but problems of the rice bowl As a Chinese he gave thus the profoundest explanation of Chinese politics of which I know

This nonchalant and materialistic attitude is based on the very shrewd view of life to which only old people and old nations can attain It would be futile for young men under thirty to understand it, as it is futile for young nations of the West to try to appreciate it Perhaps it was no mere accident that the very name of Laotse the author of *Taotehking* the Bible of Taoism means an old man * Someone has said that every man past forty is a crook Anyway it is undeniable that the older we grow the more shameless we become Young girls of twenty seldom marry for money women of forty seldom marry for anything else— security is perhaps the word they call it It is by no mere whim that in Greek mythology young Icarus was made to fly too high until the wax of his wings melted and he fell into the sea while Dae dalus the old father flew low but flew safely home nen a man grows old he develops a genius for flying and idealism is tempered with cool level headed imon sense as well as with a sense for dollars and pennies Realism is then characteristic of old age as idealism is characteristic of youth When a man is past forty and does not become a crook he is either feeble minded or a genius To the latter class belong the big children like Tolstoy Robert Louis Stevenson and Sir James Barrie who have in them so much native *childish* ness which combined with experience of fact gives them that capacity for eternal youth which we call immortality

All this is however pure Taoism in theory and prac tice for there is no profounder collection of a concentrat ed roguish philosophy of life than that contained in the five thousand words of Laotse s *Taotehking* Taoism in theory and practice means a certain roguish *nonchalance* a confounded and devastating scepticism a mocking laughter at the futility of all human *interference and the*

* This old man around the sixth century B C was riding a donkey through the Hankukuan Pass and saying good bye to the world when he was begged to leave the five thousand words of *Taotehking* for the enlightenment of his fellow men

failure of all human institutions laws government and marriage and a certain disbelief in idealism not so much because of lack of energy as because of a lack of faith It is a philosophy which counteracts the positivism of Confucius and serves as a safety valve for the imperfec tions of a Confucian society For the Confucian outlook on life is positive while the Taoistic outlook is negative and out of the alchemy of these two strange elements emerges the immortal thing we call Chinese character *

Hence all Chinese are Confucianists when successful and Taoists when they are failures The Confucianist in us builds and strives while the Taoist in us watches and smiles *Therefore when a Chinese scholar is in office he moralizes and when he is out of office he versifies and usually it is good Taoistic poetry* That *explains why* almost all Chinese scholars write poetry and why in *almost all* collected works of Chinese writers poetry oc cupies the better and greater half

For Taoism like morphia is strangely benumbing and therefore strangely soothing It relieves Chinese head aches and heartaches Its romanticism its poetry and its worship of nature serve the Chinese as handsomely in times of trouble and disorder as Confucianism serves them in times of peace and national integration In that way it provides a safe retreat for the Chinese human heart and a balm for the Chinese soul when the flesh is submitted to trials and tribulations The poetry of Taoism alone has made the rigoristic life on the Confucian pattern en durable and its romanticism has saved Chinese literature from becoming a mere collection of eulogies on the im perial virtues and a rehash of moral exhortations All good Chinese literature all Chinese literature that is worth while that is readable and that pleases the human mind and soothes the human heart is essentially imbued with this Taoistic spirit Taoism and Confucianism are

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* So far as this negative attitude toward life is concerned Buddhism is merely Taoism a little touched in its wits

the negative and positive poles of Chinese thought which make life possible in China

The Chinese are by nature greater Taoists than they are by culture Confucianists As a people we are great enough to draw up an imperial code based on the conception of essential justice but we are also great enough to distrust lawyers and law courts Ninety five per cent of legal troubles are settled out of court We are great enough to make elaborate rules of ceremony but we are also great enough to treat them as part of the great joke of life which explains the great feasting and merry making at Chinese funerals We are great enough to denounce vice but we are also great enough not to be surprised or disturbed by it We are great enough to start successive waves of revolutions but we are also great enough to compromise and go back to the previous patterns of overnment We are great enough to elaborate a perfect stem of official impeachment and civil service and ic regulations and library reading room rules but we are also great enough to break all systems to ignore them circumvent them play with them and become superior to them We do not teach our young in the colleges a course of political science showing how a government is supposed to be run but we teach them by daily example how our municipal provincial and central governments are actually run We have no use for impracticable idealism as we have no patience for doctrinaire theology We do not teach our young to become like the *sons of* God but we teach them to behave like sane normal human beings That is why I believe that the Chinese are essentially humanists and Christianity must *fail in China* or it must be altered beyond recognition before it can be accepted The only part of Christian teachings which will be truly accepted by the Chinese people is *Christ s injunction* to be harmless as doves but *wise as serpents* For these two virtues dove like gentleness and serpent like wisdom are attributes of the old rogue

In one word we recognize the necessity of human effort but we also admit the futility of it This general attitude of mind has a tendency to develop passive defence tactics Great things can be reduced into small things and small things can be reduced into nothing On this general principle all Chinese disputes are patched up all Chinese schemes are readjusted and all reform programmes are discounted until there is peace and rice for everybody One bid is not so good as one pass so runs another of our proverbs which means the same thing as Let well enough alone and Let sleeping dogs lie

Human life moves on therefore on the line of least struggle and least resistance This develops a certain calmness of mind which enables one to swallow insults and to find oneself in harmony with the universe It develops also certain defence tactics which can be more terrible than any tactics of aggression When one goes to a restaurant and feels hungry but the food does not come one can repeat the order to the boy If the boy is rude one can complain to the management and do something about it But if the boy replies in the most elegant manner Coming! coming! and does not move a step one can do absolutely nothing except pray or curse in the most elegant manner also Such in brief is the passive strength of the Chinese people a strength which those who are made to feel most will appreciate best It is the strength of the old rogue

V PACIFISM

So far we have been dealing with three of the worst characteristics that paralyse the Chinese people for organized action These characteristics are seen to spring from a general view of life as shrewd as it is mellow distinguished by a certain tolerant nonchalance It is evident that such a view of life is not without its virtues and they are the virtues of an old people not ambitious nor keen to sit on top of the world but a people whose eyes

have seen much of life who are prepared to accept life for what it is worth but who insist nevertheless that this life shall be lived decently and happily within one s lot

For the Chinese are a hard boiled lot There is no nonsense about them they do not live in order to die as the Christians pretend to do nor do they seek for a Utopia on earth as many seers of the West do They just want to order this life on earth which they know to be full of pain and sorrow so that they may work peace ably endure nobly and live happily Of the noble virtues of the West of nobility ambition zeal for re form public spirit sense for adventure and heroic courage the Chinese are devoid They cannot be interested in climbing Mont Blanc or in exploring the North Pole But they are tremendously interested in this commonplace world and they have an indomitable patience an inde atigable industry a sense of duty a level headed com on sense cheerfulness humour tolerance pacifism and hat unequalled genius for finding happiness in hard en vironments which we call contentment—qualities that make this commonplace life enjoyable to them And chief of these are pacifism and tolerance which are the mark of a mellow culture and which seem to be lacking in modern Europe

Indeed it eems at times on watching the spectacle of present-day Europe that she is suffering less from a lack of smartness or intellectual brilliance than from the lack of a little mellow wisdom It seems at times barely possible that Europe will outgrow its hot headed youth fulness and its intellectual brilliance and that after another century of scientific progress the world will be brought so closely together that the Europeans will learn to take a more tolerant view of life and of each other at the risk of total annihilation They will perhaps learn to be a little less brilliant and a little more mature I have con fidence that the change of view will be brought about not by brilliant theories but by an instinct for self pre servation Perhaps then the West will learn to believe

less in self assertion and more in tolerance for tolerance will be direly needed when the world is closely knit together They will be a little less desirous to make progress and a little more anxious to understand life And the voice of the Old Man of Hankukuan Pass will be listened to more widely

From the Chinese point of view pacifism is not noble it is simply good because it is common sense If this earthly life is all the life we can have we must try to live in peace if we want to live happily From this point of view the self assertion and the restlessness of the spirit *of the West are signs of its youthful rawness* The Chinese steeped in his Oriental philosophy can see that rawness will gradually wear off at Europe s coming of age For strange as it may seem out of the extremely shrewd philosophy of Taoism there always emerges the word tolerance Tolerance has been I think the greatest quality of Chinese culture and tolerance will also become the greatest quality of modern culture when that culture matures To learn tolerance one needs a little sorrow and a little cynicism of the Taoist type True cynics are often the kindest people for they see the hollowness of life and from the realization of that hollowness is generated a kind of cosmic pity

Pacifism too is a matter of high human understanding If man could learn to be a little more cynical he would also be less inclined toward warfare That is perhaps why all intelligent men are cowards The Chinese are the world s worst fighters because they are an intelligent race backed and nurtured by Taoistic cynicism and the Confucian emphasis on harmony as the ideal of life They do not fight because they are the most calculating and self interested of peoples An average Chinese child knows what the European grey haired statesmen do not know that by fighting one gets killed or maimed whether it be an individual or a nation Chinese parties to a dispute are the easiest to bring to their senses That calculating philosophy teaches them to be slow to quarrel

and quick to patch up That mellow old roguish philosophy which teaches the Chinese patience and passive resistance in times of trouble also warns them against momentary pride and assertion at the moment of success The Chinese counsel for moderation says When fortune comes do not enjoy all of it when advantage comes do not take all of it To be over assertive and to take full advantage of one s position is called showing too much edge a mark of vulgarity and an omen of downfall Whereas the English believe in not striking a man when he is down out of respect for fair play the Chinese equivalent expression do not push a fellow to the wall is merely a matter of culture or *hanyang* as we call it

To the Chinese the Versailles Treaty is not only unfair it is merely vulgar or lacking in *hanyang* If the had been imbued a little with the spirit of ism at the moment of his victory he would not have osed the Versailles Treaty and his head would rest more easily on his pillow to-day But France was young and Germany would certainly have done the same thing, and no one realizes the extreme silliness of two nations like France and Germany each trying to keep the other permanently under its iron heels But Clemenceau had not read Laotse Nor has Hitler So let them fight while the Taoist watches and miles

Chinese pacifism is also largely a matter of temperament as well as of human understanding Chinese boys fight much less in the street than Western boys As a people we fight much less than we ought to in spite of our interminable civil wars Put the American people under the same misrule and there would have been thirty revolutions not three in the last twenty years Ireland is now at peace because the Irish fought hard and we are still fighting to-day because we do not fight hard enough

Nor are Chinese civil wars fighting in the real sense of the word Until recently civil wars were never glorified

Conscription for service is unknown and the soldiers who do the fighting are poor people who do not know how to make a living otherwise These soldiers do not relish a good fight and the generals relish the fight because they do not do the fighting In any major campaign silver bullets have always won in spite of the fact that the conquering hero may make a majestic triumphal return to the capital to the accompaniment of the boom of guns Those guns—they suggest so much the sound of battle and they are typical for in Chinese private quarrels and civil warfare it is the sound and noise that make up the essence of the battle One does not see fighting in China one merely hears it I heard two such battles one in Peking and one in Amoy Aurally it was satisfying Usually a superior army merely awes the inferior enemy into defeat and what would be a protracted campaign in a Western country is finished in a month The defeated general according to the Chinese idea of fair play is then given a hundred thousand dollars travelling expenses and sent on a tour of industrial investigation to Europe with the full knowledge that in the next war his services may be needed by the present conqueror With the next turn of events the most probable thing is that you will find the victor and the vanquished riding in the same car like two sworn brothers That is the beauty of Chinese *hanyang* Meanwhile the people have nothing to do with it They hate war and will always hate war Good people never fight in China For good iron is not made into nails and good men are not made soldiers

VI Contentment

Travellers in China especially those wayward travellers who go through the seldom visited parts of the Chinese inland are equally amazed at the low standard of living of the Chinese toiling masses and at their cheerfulness and contentment under such conditions Even in the famine

ance beyond two simple but hearty meals a day A simple but hearty meal eaten without much worry is however a great deal of luck according to the Chinese theory of contentment for as a Chinese scholar has put it a well filled stomach is indeed a great thing all else is luxury of life *

For contentment is another of those words like kindness and peaceableness which are written on red paper and pasted on all doors on New Year s Day It is part of the counsel for moderation part of that human wisdom which says When good fortune comes do not enjoy all of it and of that advice of a Ming scholar to choose the lighter happiness Among the epigrams of Laotse which have passed into current phraseology is the maxim that one who is contented will not meet with disgrace Another form of this maxim is One who is contented is always happy In literature it emerges as a praise of the rural life and of the man who has few worries a sentiment which is found in all poems and private letters I pick at random from a collection of letters of Ming scholars Thus wrote Lu Shen to his friend

> To-night we are going to have a full moon How about getting a painted houseboat and bringing along a few musicians? Can you come and spend a night with me in this early autumn? I am going to have a recluse s gown made and when my resignation is accepted I shall be indeed a carefree old man of the mountains

It is this sort of sentiment which when passing into the current thoughts and feelings of the Chinese scholars enables him to find happiness in his lowly hut

Human happiness is a frail thing for the gods are evidently jealous of it The problem of happiness is therefore the most elusive problem of life but after all is said and

* The Chinese description of this happy state of going to bed with a filled stomach is soft well filled dark and sweet —the last two adjectives referring to sweet slumber This is positively voluptuous in the Chinese language

been a bachelor all his life or h could not have laughed so roguishly Anyway there is no record that he ever married or had any progeny The last coughs of Laotse s laughter were caught up by Chuangtse and he being a *younger man* had a *richer voice* and the *ring* of *his* laughter has reverberated throughout the ages We still cannot resist a chance to laugh yet sometimes I feel we are carrying the joke too far and laugh a little out of season

The abysmal ignorance of the foreigner about China and the Chinese cannot be more impressive than when he asks the question Do the Chinese have a sense of hum our? It is really as surprising as if an Arab caravan were to ask Are there sands in the Sahara desert? It is strange however how little a person may see in a country Theoretically at least the Chinese people should have humour for humour is born of realism and the Chinese are an unusually realistic people Humour is born of common sense and the Chinese have an overdose of common sense Humour especially Asiatic humour is the product of contentment and leisure and the Chinese have content ment and leisure to a supreme degree A humorist is often a defeatist and delights in recounting his own failures and embarrassments and the Chinese are often sane cool minded defeatists Humour often takes a tolerant view of vice and evil and instead of condemning them laughs at them and the Chinese have always been characterized by the capacity to tolerate evil Toleration has then a good and a bad side and the Chinese have both of them If the characteristics of the Chinese race we have discussed above—common sense toleration con tentment and old roguery—are true then humour is in evitable in China

Chinese humour however is more in deeds than in words The Chinese have their words for the various types of humour but the commonest type called *huach i* in which sometimes the Confucian scholars indulge pseudonyms really means to me only tr

the Chinese government ministries from keeping Shanghai offices in the foreign concessions The actual carrying out of this order would mean a great inconvenience to the ministers who have their homes in Shanghai and throw a number of people out of jobs The Nanking ministers neither defied the Nanking order nor petitioned for its repeal on honest grounds of inconvenience and impracticability No professional clerk could be clever enough to draft any such petition and make it accord with good form since it meant the desire of Chinese officials to reside in foreign settlements which would be unpatriotic They did an infinitely cleverer thing by changing the door plates of their Shanghai offices and calling them trade inspection bureaux The door plates probably cost twenty dollars apiece no man was thrown out of a job and no face was lost The school trick pleased not only the Nanking ministers but also Nanking itself where the original order was issued Our Nanking ministers are great humorists So are our bandits So are our war lords The humour of Chinese civil wars has already been pointed out

In contrast with this we might take the case of mission schools as showing the Western lack of humour The missions were put into a scare a few years ago when their registration was required which involved the crossing out of religious instruction from the school curricula the hanging of Sun Yatsen s picture in the assembly hall and the holding of Monday memorial meetings The Chinese authorities could not see why the mission schools could not comply with these simple regulations while the missionaries could not see their way clear to accepting them and there was a deadlock Some missionaries actually had visions of closing up their schools and in one instance everything would have gone on smoothly except for the stupid honesty of the Western principal who refused to cancel one sentence from their school catalogue avowing religious instruction to be one of their aims The principal wanted to be able to say honestly and openly that relig

they were at times humiliated culturally they were the centre of a vast humanist civilization that was conscious of itself and lacked no well reasoned apologetics China s only cultural rival of any importance that represented a different point of view was Indian Buddhism and for Buddhism the true Confucianist had always some measure of sneering contempt For the Confucianist was immeasurably proud of Confucius and in being proud of Confucius he was proud of the nation proud of the Chinese having understood life in its moral essence proud of their knowledge of human nature and proud of their having solved the problems of life in all its ethical and political relationships

In a way he was justified For Confucianism not only asked about the meaning of life but also answered it in a way that left people satisfied with having found the meaning of human existence The answer was solid clear and sensible so that it left people with no desire to speculate about the future life or to change the present one Man naturally becomes conservative when he realizes he has got something that works and therefore something that is true The Confucianist saw no other way of life thought no other way possible The fact that Westerners too have a well organized social life and that a London policeman would help an old woman across the street without any knowledge of the Confucian doctrine of respect for old age comes to the Chinese always more or less as a shock

When the realization came that Westerners possess all the Confucian virtues of courtesy orderliness honour kindliness courage and honesty of government and that Confucius would have personally approved of the London policeman and tube conductor that racial pride was badly shaken There were things that displeased the Chinese and struck him as raw uncouth and barbarian like husband and wife walking hand in hand together father and daughter kissing each other kissing on the screen kissing on the stage kissing on the railway plat

worth In local as in national troubles the people look to him for cool judgment for far sightedness for a better envisagement of the manifold consequences of an act or decision and therefore for natural guidance and leadership and real leadership is conceived as a leadership of the mind With the majority of people illiterate it is easy to maintain that leadership sometimes by a mere jumble of unusual phrases that the illiterate only half understand or by a reference to history of which the common people have only such knowledge as they can pick up from the theatre The reference to history generally settles the question and it is characteristic because the Chinese mind thinks in terms of concrete analogy which somehow puts the situation in a form that the common people can grasp in its entirety

I have already suggested that the Chinese suffer from an overdose of intelligence as shown in their old roguery their indifference and in their pacifism which so often borders on cowardice But all intelligent men are cowards because intelligent men want to save their skins There can be nothing more silly if we keep our minds clear enough to see it than a man popping his head over the top with gin manufactured courage in order to meet a lead bullet and die for a newspaper manufactured cause If he can use his head in reading newspapers he will not be at the front and if he can abstain from gin and keep a cool head he will logically and humanly be in a blue funk The last war has taught us that many gentle souls who shine at school or college undergo a mental torture of which the more robust and less intelligent have no inkling of an idea And it is not the novice but the man in service for four years who begins to realize that desertion is often a virtue one owes to oneself and the only sane course open to a sensible and honest man

But the general mental intelligence of the Chinese race can be proved from other sources than cowardice Chinese students in America and European colleges often distinguish themselves academically and I think this is

rdly due to a process of selection The Chinese mind long used to academic discussions at home The Japa se have sarcastically dubbed the Chinese a literary tion and justifiably so An example of this is the ormous output of current Chinese magazines which ems to crop up wherever a group of four or five friends t together in a city and the tremendous number of iters who keep the magazine editors overwhelmed with eir articles The old imperial examinations which as have pointed out were a kind of intelligence test long o sharpened the Chinese scholar s mind in the fine use of ords and in subtle literary distinctions and the cultiva on of poetry has trained them in the higher spheres of erary expression and in taste and finesse The Chinese of painting has reached a height yet unreached by the est and in calligraphy they have forged a way alone d reached what I believe to be the maximum variety and finement in the conception of rhythmic beauty

The Chinese mind therefore cannot be accused of lack originality or creativeness Its inventiveness has been ual to the handicraft stage in which Chinese industries ve always remained Because of the failure to deve a scientific method and because of the peculiar quali s of Chinese thinking China has been backward in tural science I have confidence however that with importation of the scientific method and with ade ate research facilities China will be able to produce at scientists and make important contributions to the entific world in the next century

Nor is such native intelligence confined to the edu ed class Chinese servants are greatly welcomed on count of their general intelligence and human under nding and must be put at least on a par with Euro- in servants Chinese merchants have prospered in the alay States in the East Indies and in the Philippines iefly because their intelligence has been greater than it of the natives and because of those virtues that come m intelligence such as thrift steady industry and far

sightedness The respect for scholarship has brought about a general desire for refinement even among the lower middle class of which the foreigner is seldom aware Foreign residents in Shanghai sometimes offend the department store salesmen by talking down to them in pidgin not knowing that many of them are particular about a split infinitive Chinese labourers are easily trained to be skilled mechanics where précision is required One rarely sees in the slums and factory districts that type of big husky animal of a similar class in the West distinguished only by his big jaw low forehead and brute strength One meets a different type with intelligent eyes and cheerful appearance and an eminently reasonable temperament Perhaps the variability of intelligence is decidedly lower among the Chinese than among many Western races the same lower variability that we see in the mental powers of women as compared with variability in men

II FEMININITY

Indeed the Chinese mind is akin to the feminine mind in many respects Femininity in fact is the only word that can summarize its various aspects The qualities of the feminine intelligence and feminine logic are exactly the qualities of the Chinese mind The Chinese head like the feminine head is full of common sense It is shy of abstract terms like women s speech The Chinese way of thinking is synthetic concrete and revels in proverbs like women s conversation They never have had higher mathematics of their own and seldom have gone beyond the level of arithmetic like many women with the exception of those masculine women prize winners at college * Women have a surer instinct of life than men and the Chinese have it more than other people The Chinese depend largely upon their intuition for solving all nature s mysteries that same intuition or sixth

* This refers of course to general womanhood as brought about by the present social system

sense which makes many women believe a thing is so because it is so And finally Chinese logic is highly personal like women s logic A woman would not introduce a professor of ichthyology as professor of ichthyology but as the brother in law of Colonel Harrison who died in India while she was undergoing an operation for appendicitis in New York by that lovable old Doctor Cabot you should look at his handsome forehead In the same way a Chinese judge cannot think of law as an abstract entity but as a flexible quantity as it should be personally applied to Colonel Huang or Major Li Accordingly any law which is not personal enough to respond to the personality of Colonel Huang or Major Li is inhuman and therefore no law at all Chinese justice is an art not a science

Jespersen in his well known book *The Growth and Structure of English* once referred to the masculine qualities of the English language by pointing to its love of economy common sense and forcefulness Without wishing to contradict so great an authority on the English language I beg to differ on a point which concerns the sexes Common sense and the practical mind are characteristics of women rather than of men who are more liable to take their feet off the ground and soar to impossible heights The Chinese language and grammar show this femininity exactly because the language in its form syntax and vocabulary reveals an extreme simplicity of thinking concreteness of imagery and economy of syntactical relationships

This simplicity is best illustrated from pidgin which is English meat with Chinese bones as we say in China There is no reason why a sentence like He come you no come you come he no come should not be considered as clear as the more roundabout You needn t come if he comes and he needn t come if you come In fact this simplicity makes for clarity of expression Moon in *Dean s English* quotes an English Somerset farmer as testifying before the judge He d a stick and he d

stick and he licked he and he licked he if he licked he as hard as he licked he he d a killed he and not he he and this seems to me a much more sensible way of talking than one with the Germanic case-distinctions For according to the Chinese the difference between I lick he and he lick I is perfectly clear without the subjective accusative complex and the adding of the third person singular ending s is as superfluous as is already proved to be in the past tense (I had he had I went he went) Actually lots of people are saying us girls and them things without ever being misunderstood or losing anything except a meaningless class which has nothing to do with the beauty of expression I have great hope that English and American professors will one day bravely and respectably pronounce a he don t in the classrooms and that the English language may one day become as sensible and clear as the Chinese through the influence of pidgin

A certain feminine practical instinct has already guided the English to abbreviate all their subordinate clauses as much as possible like weather permitting God willing if possible whenever necessary as expected if I don t (*not* shall not) come back to-night and if war breaks out (*not* shall break out) next week Jespersen already mentions such examples of Chinese simplicity in English as first come first served no cure no pay once bitten twice shy which are all standard pidgin They are beginning to drop the whom too (Who are you speaking to?) English grammar is therefore not far from salvation The Chinese love of simplicity is however far ahead as in the expression Sit eat mountain empty which to the Chinese clearly means that if you only sit and eat and do nothing even a fortune as big as a mountain will vanish Therefore it will be some time before the English can catch up with us

The Chinese concrete way of thinking can also be illustrated by the nature of its abstract terms and prevalence of proverbs and metaphoric expressions An abstract

notion is often expressed by the combination of two concrete qualities as big small for size long short for length broad narrow for breadth (What is the big small of your shoes?) Long and short also refer to the right and wrong of parties in dispute as the Chinese expression is whether one s argument is long (or short) and therefore we have expressions like I don t care for its long short (similar to the English the long and the short of it is) and that man has no right wrong meaning he is a good man because he preserves a God like indifference toward all questions and does not get involved in private disputes Abstract endings like ness are also unknown in Chinese and the Chinese simply say with Mencius that the white of a white horse is not the same as the white of a white jade This has a bearing on their lack of analytic thinking

Women so far as I know avoid using abstract terms This I think has been proved by an analytical study of the vocabulary of women authors (The analytical statistical method is in itself a habit of the Western mind for the Chinese has far too much common sense to go to the trouble of counting words to prove it When he feels the truth directly that women s vocabulary in speech and writing is decidedly less abstract that is sufficient for him) With the Chinese as with women concrete imagery always takes the place of abstract terminology The highly academic sentence There is no difference but difference of degree between different degrees of difference and no difference cannot be exactly reproduced in Chinese and a Chinese translator would probably substitute for it the Mencian question What is the difference between running away fifty steps and running away a hundred steps [in battle]? Such a substitute expression loses in definition and exactness but gains in intelligibility To say How could I perceive his inner mental processes? is not so intelligible as How could I know what is going on in his mind? and this in turn is

cidedly less affective than the Chinese Am I a tapeworm in his belly?

Chinese thought therefore always remains on the periphery of the visible world and this helps a sense of fact which is the foundation of experience and wisdom This dislike of abstract terms is further seen in the Chinese names for classifications which usually require sharply defined terms Instead the Chinese always seek the most expressive names for different categories Thus in Chinese literary criticism there are different methods of writing called the method of watching a fire across the river (detachment of style) the method of dragonflies skimming the water surface (lightness of touch) ' the method of painting a dragon and dotting its eyes (bringing out the salient points) the method of releasing a captive before capturing him (playing about a subject) the method of showing the dragon s head without its tail (freedom of movement and waywardness of thought) the method of a sharp precipice overhanging a ten thou and feet ravine (abruptness of ending) the method of letting blood by one needle prick (direct epigrammatic gibe) the method of going straight into the fray with one knife (direct opening) the method of announcing a campaign on the east and marching to the west (surprise attack) the method of side stabs and flanking attacks (light raillery) the method of a light mist hanging over a grey lake (mellow and toned down style) the method of layers of clouds and hilltops (accumulation) the method of throwing lighted firecrackers at a horse s buttocks (final stab toward conclusion) etc etc Such names suggest picturesque terms like the bow wow pooh pooh and sing song theories of the origin of speech

This profuseness of imagery and paucity of abstract terminology has an influence on the style of writing and consequently on the style of thought On the one hand it makes for vividness on the other it may easily degenerate into a senseless decorativeness without exact

content which has been the besetting sin of many periods of Chinese literature and against which Han Yu in the T'ang Dynasty set up a revolt Such a style suffers from lack of exactness of expression but at its best it brings about as in the best non-classical novels a sauntering prose racy idiomatic and smelling of the soil like the prose of Swift and Defoe in the best English tradition as we say It also avoids the pitfalls of a type of academic jargon which is rapidly growing in American university circles especially among the psychologists and sociologists who talk of human life only in terms of factors processes individualization departmentalization quotas of ambition standardization of anger and coefficients of happiness Such a style is practically untranslatable into Chinese although some ludicrous efforts have been made in it under the slogan of Europeanization of Chinese which is rapidly dying out of vogue Translation from English into Chinese is hardest in scientific treatises while translation from Chinese into English is hardest in poetry and decorative prose where every word contains an image

III Lack of Science

Sufficient discussion of the characteristics of Chinese thinking has been made to enable us to appreciate the cause of their failure to develop natural science The Greeks laid the foundation of natural science because the Greek mind was essentially an analytical mind a fact which is proved by the striking modernity of Aristotle The Egyptians developed geometry and astronomy sciences which required an analytical mind and the Hindus developed a grammar of their own The Chinese with all their native intelligence never developed a science of grammar and their mathematics and astronomical knowledge have all been imported For the Chinese mind delights only in moral platitudes and their abstract terms like benevolence kindliness propriety and loyal-

over to human relationships (in which the Chinese are primarily interested) often results in a form of stupidity not so rare in American universities There are to-day doctorate dissertations in the inductive method which would make Bacon turn in his grave No Chinese could possibly be stupid enough to write a dissertation on ice cream and after a series of careful observations announce the staggering conclusion that the primary function of sugar [in the manufacture of ice-cream] is to sweeten it * or after a methodical study in Time and Motion Comparison on Four Methods of Dish washing happily perceive that stooping and lifting are fatiguing † or that in A Study of the Bacterial Content of Cotton Undershirts the number of bacteria tends to increase with the length of time garments are worn ‡ A newspaper report several years ago stated that a University of Chicago student after making a comparative study of the impressional power of various types of lettering found that *the blacker the lines the more striking they are to the eye*

This sort of stupidity although useful to business advertisement could really be arrived at I think just as correctly by a moment of Chinese common sense and intuition The best cartoon I have ever seen in *Punch* is that of a congress of behaviourists who after passing a number of pig subjects through a test with a thermometer in the snout and a pearl necklace dangling in front unanimously resolve that pigs do not respond to the sight of jewellery These things cannot be merely prostitution

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Teachers College Record Columbia University Feb 1930 p 472, quoted by Abraham Flexner *Universities American, En lish and German*

† Flexner *ibid* A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in candidacy for degree of Master of Arts, University of Chicago

‡ Flexner *ibid* A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Kans_s State Agricultural College for Degree of Doc

so how could he establish it? If we let one who agrees with me establish the truth then he already agrees with me so how could he establish it? If we let one who disagrees with both of us establish the truth then he already disagrees with both of us so how could he establish it? If we let one who agrees with both of us establish the truth then he already agrees with both of us so how could he establish it? Thus you and I and other people cannot know the truth and how can we wait for the other one?

According to this theory of knowledge truth cannot be proved although it may be grasped by the mind in a dialectic without words (Chuangtse) One knows it is so without knowing why it is so *Tao* or truth is that which we know not the manner of It can therefore be felt only by a sort of intuitive perception The Chinese without all consciously accepting this Chuangtsean epistemology essentially agree with it Instead of relying on logic which is never developed as a science they rely on the perhaps healthier common sense Anything like cogent reasoning is unknown in Chinese literature for the Chinese inherently disbelieve in it Consequently no dialectic has been evolved and the scientific treatise as a literary form is unknown

Bernhard Karlgren recently wrote a paper showing the fallacies of many arguments used by Chinese higher critics in proving the genuineness or spuriousness of ancient works Some of the mistakes really seem childish but they only seem so after the application of the Western method A Chinese never writes a treatise of ten thousand or even five thousand words to establish a point He puts down only a note about it leaving it to be sustained or disproved by posterity on its intrinsic merit That is why Chinese scholars always bequeath to us so many collections of notebooks called *shuipi* or *pichi* consisting of unclassified paragraphs in which opinions on the authorship of literary works and corrections of errors in historical records are mixed

accounts of Siamese twins fox spirits and sketches of a red bearded hero or a centipede eating recluse

A Chinese author presents you with one or two argu ments and then states his conclusions in reading him you seldom see him arriving at the conclusion for the arguments and evidences are never long but you see in a flash that he already has it The best of such notebooks like the *Jih chih lu* of Ku Yenwu (beginning of the seventeenth century) establish their reputation not by their logic but by the essential correctness of their state ments which can only be proved or disproved by posterity The writing of two or three lines in Ku s *Notebook* was sometimes the result of years of research and investigation which was scientific enough and the determination of a single point of historic fact might have involved repeated trips and an encyclopædic erudition but his errors are difficult to check and the fact that he is correct is not immediately visible and can only be appreciated because no writer in the three centuries after him has been able to establish a point against him

Thus we see an opposition of logic versus common sense which takes the place of inductive and deductive reasoning in China Common sense is often saner be cause the analytic reasoning looks at truth by cutting it up into various aspects thus throwing them out of their natural bearings while common sense seizes the situation as a living whole Women have a more robust common sense than men and in times of any emergency I always depend on the judgment of a woman rather than that of a man They have a way of sizing up a situation in its totality without being distracted by its individual aspects In the best Chinese novels like the *Red Chamber Dream* and the *Yehsao Paoyen* (*An Uncouth Old Man s Chats*) the women are pictured as the soundest judges of situa tions and their speech has a way of putting it as a round ed whole which is extremely fascinating Logic without such common sense is dangerous because when a man holds an opinion it is easy enough for him with his

academic brain to evolve arguments a b and c to his own satisfaction and yet he may be like the scholar Mr Casaubon in *Middlemarch* who fails to perceive what every man could perceive in the life of his own wife

This religion of common sense has a philosophic basis It is interesting to note that the Chinese do not judge the correctness of a proposition by the appeal to reason alone but by the double appeal to reason *and* to human nature The Chinese word for reasonableness is *ch ingli* which is composed of two elements *ch ing* (*jench ing*) or human nature and *li* (*t ienli*) or eternal reason *Ch ing* represents the flexible human element while *li* represents the immutable law of the universe Out of the combination of these two factors comes the standard of judgment for a course of action or an historical thesis

Something of this distinction may be seen in the English contrast between reason and reasonableness It was Aristotle I believe who said that man is a reasoning but not a reasonable being Chinese philosophy admits this but adds that man should try to be a reasonable and not a merely reasoning being By the Chinese reasonableness is placed on a higher level than reason For while reason is abstract analytical idealistic and inclined toward logical extremes the spirit of reasonableness is always more realistic more human in closer touch with reality and more truly understanding and appreciative of the correct situation

For a Westerner it is usually sufficient for a proposition to be logically sound For a Chinese it is not sufficient that a proposition be logically correct but it must be at the same time in accord with human nature In fact to be in accord with human nature to be *chinch ing* is a greater consideration than to be logical For a theory could be so logical as to be totally devoid of common sense The Chinese are willing to do anything against reason but they will not accept anything that is not plausible in the light of human nature This spirit of reasonableness and this religion of common sense have a most

important bearing on the Chinese ideal of life and result in the Doctrine of the Golden Mean which I shall discuss in the following chapter

V INTUITION

Nevertheless this type of thinking has its limitations too for the logic of common sense can only be applied to human affairs and actions it cannot be applied to the solution of the riddles of the universe One can use reasonableness to settle a dispute but not to locate the relative positions of the heart and liver or determine the function of the pancreatic juice Hence in divining nature s mysteries and the secrets of the human body the Chinese have to resort largely to intuition Strangely enough they have intuitively felt the heart to be on the right and the liver to be on the left side of the human chest An erudite Chinese scholar whose voluminous *Note books** are widely read came across a copy of *Human Anatomy* translated by the Jesuits Jacobus Rho James Terrence and Nicolaus Longobardi and finding that in the book the heart is placed on the left and the liver on the right decided that Westerners have different internal organs from the Chinese and deduced therefrom the important conclusion that since their internal organs are different therefore their religion must be also different—this deduction is in itself a perfect example of intuitive reasoning—and hence only Chinese whose internal organs are imperfect could possibly become Christian converts The erudite scholar slyly remarked that if the Jesuits only knew this fact they would not be interested in preaching Christianity in China and in making converts of half normal beings

Such assertions are made in perfect seriousness and in fact are typical of Chinese intuition in the realms of natural science and human physiology One begins to believe that there is something after all in the scientific method for with this method though one might be seri

* Yu Chenghsueh *Kweissu Leik ao*

ously concerned in the findings that the primary function of sugar [in the manufacture of ice-cream] is to sweeten it yet one could be saved from the other sort of puerile *thinking represented by the author of the above Note books* He could at least have felt the palpitation of his heart by his own hand but evidently the Chinese scholar never descended to manual labour

Free thus from stupid drudgery in the use of his eyes and his hands and having a naive faith in the power of his intuition the Chinese scholar goes about explain ing the mysteries of the human body and the universe to his own satisfaction The whole science of Chinese medicine and physiology is based on the Taoistic philosophy of the Five Elements—Gold Wood Water Fire and Earth The human body is in itself a symbol of the uni verse in its composition The kidneys represent the water element the stomach represents the earth element the liver represents the fire element the lungs represent the gold element and the heart represents the wood element Not that this medicine does not work in practice A man suffering from high blood pressure is considered to have too warm a liver fire while a man suffering from in digestion may be referred to as having too much earth and a laxative is used to encourage the function of the kidneys by way of helping the water element and the indigestion is *usually* cured If a man is suffering from nervous trouble he should drink a lot of water and use palliatives so that the kidney water will go up and dampen a little of the liver fire and thus help maintain in him a more equable temper There is no doubt that Chinese medicine works the quarrel is only with its diagnosis

Here enter the survivals of savage traits in Chinese thinking Unchecked by a scientific method intuition has free room and often borders on a naive imagination Some kinds of Chinese medicine are based on a mere play of words or on some fantastic association of thought The toad who has a wrinkled skin is used in the cure of skin

troubles and a peculiar kind of frog that lives in cool deep ponds on hillsides is supposed to have a cooling effect on the bodily system For the last two years the local papers in Shanghai have been full of advertisements of a certain lung shaped plant which is produced in Szechuen and recommended as the best cure for tuber culosis And this goes on in an uninterrupted series until we come to the popular belief that a schoolboy should not eat chicken s claws lest he develop the habit of scratching the pages of his book

The superstitious belief in the power of words may be traced in all departments of life for here we are dealing neither with logic nor with common sense but with a survival of the savage state of mind which does not distinguish and is not interested in distinguishing playful fancy from serious truth The bat and the deer are popular motives for embroidery work because the word bat (*fu*) is a homonym for luck and the word deer (*lu*) is a homonym for official power The Chinese bride and bridegroom have after the wedding ceremony a dinner *a deux* consisting of a pig s heart because they are thus going to have the same heart which is the word for harmony

It is difficult to say how much of it is serious belief and how much of it mere light playful fancy Certain taboos are evidently taken quite seriously for the boat man will look troubled when you turn over the fish at dinner in the boat which suggests the overturning of the boat itself He does not quite know whether is it true or not but so people say and he is not interested in undertaking a research to verify it It is a state of mind that belongs to the borderland of truth and fiction where truth and fiction are pleasurably and poetically mixed as in a dreamer s tale

VI IMAGINATION

This *naivete* we must try to understand for it brings us to the world of the Chinese imagination and Chinese

religion By religion I mean a good heaven and a hot hell and real living spirits and not the kingdom within you of the Boston Unitarians or the belief in the impersonal and amorphous Power in and around us which makes for righteousness of Matthew Arnold

This world of the imagination is not confined to the illiterate Confucius himself exhibited a certain *naivete* regarding the spirits when he said If one were to try to please the god of the south west corner of the house it would be preferable to try to please the god of the kitchen stove He spoke of the spirits with an ease of mind which was truly charming Offer sacrifices to the spirits *as if* the spirits were present and Respect the spirits but keep them at a distance He was willing to let the spirits exist if they would let him go his own way

Han Yu the great Confucianist of the T'ang Dynasty continued this naive attitude He was officially reprimanded and compelled to go to the neighbourhood of modern Swatow to serve as a magistrate and when this district was suffering from an invasion of crocodiles he wrote a high flown sacrificial appeal to the crocodiles The crocodiles seemed to appreciate his literary style (for he was one of the best writers in China s history) and according to his own testimony they disappeared from the district. It would be futile to ask if he sincerely believed in it or not To ask that question is completely to misunderstand the situation for his reply would most probably be How can I know it is true but how can you know it is untrue? It was an agnosticism which openly admitted the impossibility of settling the question with our mental powers and therefore brushed it aside Han Yu s was a powerful mind and he was not superstitious for he was the man who wrote the famous essay dissuading the Emperor from sending a delegation to bring back the Buddha s bones from India I am sure he was half laughing when he composed that sacrificial appeal to the crocodiles There have been other powerful minds more rationalistic in temperament like that of Ssuma Wenkung of the follow

Wang Chou and Ch'ienniang lived on as husband and wife for over forty years before they died

It is perhaps well that the world is not completely explained and that there is some room for this type of imagination The proper use of imagination is to give beauty to the world For as in the moral life human intelligence is used to convert the world into a place of contentment for human existence so in the artistic life the gift of imagination is used to cast over the commonplace workaday world a veil of beauty to make it throb with our æsthetic enjoyment In China the art of living is one with the arts of painting and poetry As Li Liweng at the end of the seventeenth century expressed it in a dramatic passage

> First we look at the hills in the painting
> Then we look at the painting in the hills

The imagination by its contemplation of sorrow and poverty turns sorrow and poverty into beauty as we see so clearly in Tu Fu's poetry For beauty resides in the huts in the grasshoppers in the cicada's wings and strangest of all in the rocks too The Chinese alone in the world would paint a piece of jagged rock and hang it on the wall for daily contemplation and enjoyment These rocks—they are not the carved stones of Venice or of Florence but the rugged and untamed works of nature still retaining the rough rhythm of their natural appearance from which our æsthetic enjoyment is drawn I think the enjoyment of the rhythm of a common clock is the last refinement of the Chinese mind Indeed the Chinese mind is as keen to detect the beauty in a common pebble as it is anxious to squeeze the last ounce of happiness from an insecure and fate ruled world That painting of a solitary rugged rock or of a cat watching a grasshopper he would hang on his wall and contemplate although a civil war might be raging outside his very doors To find beauty in common life that is the value of the Wordsworthian and the Chinese imagination for

religion By religion I mean a good heaven and a hot hell and real living spirits and not the kingdom within you of the Boston Unitarian or the belief in the impersonal and amorphous Power in and around us which makes for righteousness of Matthew Arnold

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ing dynasty who tried to disprove the Buddhistic hell by asking why the Chinese people never dreamed of hell until they heard of Buddhism But such rationalism is not typical of the Chinese mind

To me the most characteristic creatures of the Chinese imagination are the lovely female ghosts that the Chinese scholar spins out of his imagination such as those told in the *Strange Stories From a Chinese Studio* * The stories are about the female ghosts and spirits of wronged and disgraced women who possess the body of some maid servant and thus communicate their complaints to the living and the dead sweetheart who returns to her lover and bears him children It is these stories with their human touch which are most loved by the Chinese people For the Chinese ghosts are wonderfully human and the female ghosts are wonderfully lovely too they love and become jealous and take part in the ordinary human life

It is not the kind of ghosts that scholars need fear when they are alone at night in their studies For when the lamp is burning low and the scholar has fallen asleep he hears the noise of a silken dress and opens his eyes to see a demure maiden of sixteen or seventeen with a wistful look and a serene air looking and smiling at him She is usually a passionate creature for I have no doubt these stories are the wish fulfilment of the solitary scholars But she can bring him money and help him through poverty by all sorts of cunning wiles She can nurse him through sickness with more gentleness than an average modern nurse What is stranger still she will sometimes try to save money for him and will wait patiently for him during his months or years of absence She can therefore be chaste as well The period of this cohabitation may last a few days or weeks or it may extend to a generation until she has borne him children who after their success in examinations come back for their mother and then find that the gorgeous mansion has disappeared and in

* Translated by Professor H A Giles

its place is an old old grave with a hole underground where lies a dead old mother fox For she is only one of those fox spirits the Chinese delight to tell about Sometimes she leaves behind a note saying that she was sorry to leave them but that she was a fox and only wanted to enjoy human life and now since she has seen them prosper she is grateful and hopes they will forgive her

This is typical of the Chinese imagination which without soaring aloft to God like heights invests the creatures of its mind with human passions and human sorrows It has the pagan virtue of accepting the imaginary with the real and has no desire for a world perfectly rationalized and completely explained This quality of the Chinese imagination is so little known that I will give here a translation of a tale *The Tale of Ch ienniang* handed down from the Tang Dynasty I don t know whether the story is true or not but the affair happened in the years around A D 690 during the reign of the Empress Wuhou Our novels dramas and scholars works are full of this type of story in which the supernatural is made believable because it is made human

Ch ienniang was the daughter of Mr Chang Yi an official in Hunan She had a cousin by the name of Wang Chou who was a brilliant and handsome young man They had grown up together from childhood and as her father was very fond of the young boy he had said that he would take Wang Chou as his son in law This promise they had both heard and as she was the only child and they were very close together their love grew from day to day They were now grown up young people and even had intimate relationships with each other Unfortunately her father was the only man who failed to perceive this One day a young official came to beg for her hand from her father and ignoring or forgetting his early promise he consented Ch ienniang torn between love and filial ready to die with grief while the young disgusted that he decided he would go a

years have passed surely they are not still angry with us Why not go home? Ch iennıang was overjoyed to hear this and so they made preparations to go home with their two children

When the boat had reached her home town Wang Chou said to Ch iennıang I do not know what state of mind your parents are in So let me go alone first to find out His heart was palpitating as he drew near his father in law s house On seeing his father in law Wang Chou knelt down and kowtowed and begged for forgiveness On hearing this Chang Yi was greatly surprised and said What are you talking about? Ch iennıang has been lying unconscious in bed for these last five years since you left She has never even left her bed I am not lying said Wang Chou She is well and waiting in the boat

Chang Yi did not know what to think so he sent two maid servants to see Ch iennıang They saw her sitting well-dressed and happy in the boat and she even told the servants to convey her love to her parents Be wildered the two maid servants ran home to make their report and Chang Yi was still more greatly puzzled Meanwhile she who was lying in bed in her chamber had heard of the news and it seemed her illness was gone and there was light in her eyes She rose up from her bed and dressed herself before her mirror Smiling and without saying a word she came straight to the boat She who was in the boat was starting for home and they met on the river bank When the two came close together their bodies melted into one shape and their dresses were double and there appeared the old Ch iennıang as young and as lovely as ever

Both her parents were overjoyed but they bade their servants keep the ecret and not tell the neighbours about it in order to avoid gossip So no one except the close relatives of the Chang family ever k this strange happening

Wordsworth is the most Chinese in spirit of all English poets If you do not run away from the raindrops you will find them most beautiful said Hsiao Shihwei at the end of the Ming Dynasty He was speaking of the familiar style of writing diaries But it was not only a literary doctrine It was a doctrine of life

Chapter Four

IDEALS OF LIFE

I CHINESE HUMANISM

TO understand the Chinese ideal of life one must try to understand Chinese humanism The term humanism is ambiguous Chinese humanism however has a very definite meaning It implies first a just conception of the ends of human life secondly a complete devotion to these ends and thirdly the attainment of these ends by the spirit of human reasonableness or the Doctrine of the Golden Mean which may also be called the Religion of Common Sense

The question of the meaning of life has perplexed Western philosophers and it has never been solved—naturally when one starts out from the teleological point of view according to which all things including mosquitoes and typhoid germs are created for the good of this cocksure humanity As there is usually too much pain and misery in this life to allow a perfect answer to satisfy man s pride teleology is therefore carried over to the next life and this earthly life is then looked upon as a preparation for the life hereafter in conformity with the logic of Socrates which looked upon a ferocious wife as a natural provision for the training of the husband s character This way of dodging the horns of the dilemma sometimes gives peace of mind for a moment but then the eternal question What is the meaning of life?

greater determination and capacity to enjoy the few things they have This trait our concentration on earthly happiness, is as much a result as a cause of the absence of religion For if one cannot believe in the life hereafter as the consummation of the present life one is forced to make the most of this life before the farce is over The absence of religion makes this concentration possible

From this a humanism has developed which frankly proclaims a man-centred universe and lays down the rule that the end of all knowledge is to serve human happiness The humanizing of knowledge is not an easy thing, for the moment man swerves he is carried away by his logic and becomes a tool of his own knowledge Only by a sharp and steadfast holding to the true end of human life as one sees it can humanism maintain itself Humanism occupies for instance a mean position between the other worldliness of religion and the materialism of the modern world Buddhism may have captured popular fancy in China but against its influence the true Confucianist was always inwardly resentful for it was in the eyes of humanism only an escape from life or a negation of the truly human life

On the other hand the modern world with its over development of machinery has not taken time to ensure that man enjoys what he makes The glorification of the plumber in America has made the man forget that one can live a very happy life without hot and cold running water and that in France and Germany many men have lived to comfortable old age and made important scientific discoveries and written masterpieces with their water jug and old fashioned basin There needs to be a religion which will transcribe Jesus famous dictum about the Sabbath and constantly preach that the machine is made for man and not man made for the machine For after all the sum of all human wisdom and the problem of all human knowledge is how man shall remain a man and how he shall best enjoy his life

ethics Even in painting and poetry there is a sheer whole hearted instinctive delight in commonplace life and imagination is used to throw a veil of charm and beauty over this earthly life rather than to escape from it There is no doubt that the Chinese are in love with life in love with this earth and will not forsake it for an invisible heaven They are in love with life which is so sad and yet so beautiful and in which moments of happiness are so precious because they are so transient They are in love with life with its kings and beggars robbers and monks funerals and weddings and childbirths and sicknesses and glowing sunsets and rainy nights and feasting days and wine shop fracas

It is these details of life upon which the Chinese novelists fondly and untiringly dwell details which are so real and human and significant because we humans are affected *by them* Was it a *sultry afternoon when the whole house*hold from mistress to servants had gone to sleep and Taiyu sitting behind the beaded screen heard the parrot calling the master s name? Was it a mid autumn day that memorable mid autumn day of a certain year when all the sisters and Paoyu were gathered to write poems and mix in light raillery and bantering laughter over the feast of crabs in a happiness so perfect that it could hardly last like the full moon as the Chinese saying goes? Or was it a pair of innocent newlyweds on their first reunion on a moonlit night when they sat alone near a pond and prayed to the gods that their married life might last till death but dark clouds came over the moon and in the distance they heard a mysterious noise as if a wandering duck had splashed into the water pursued by a prowling fox and the young wife shivered and ran up a high fever the next day? Yes life which is so poignantly beautiful is worth recording down to its lowliest details It seems nothing of this earthly life can be too material or too vulgar to enter literature A characteristic of Chinese novels is the incessant and never tiring tion of the names of dishes served at a family

all poetry A pagan who has not these ready made answers to his problems and whose sense of mystery is for ever unquenched and whose craving for security is for ever unanswered and unanswerable is driven inevitably to a kind of pantheistic poetry Actually poetry has taken over the function of religion as an inspiration and a living emotion in the Chinese scheme of life as we shall see in the discussion on Chinese poetry To the West unused to this type of sheer pantheistic abandon to nature religion seems the natural escape But to the pagan this religion seems to be based on the fear that there is not enough poetry and imagination in this present life to satisfy the human being emotionally the fear that there is not enough power and beauty in the beech forests of Denmark or the cool sands of the Mediterranean shore to comfort the wounded human soul and the supernatural is then found necessary

But Confucian common sense which dismisses super naturalism as the realm of the unknowable and expends extremely little time over it is equally emphatic in the assertion of the superiority of the human mind over nature and in the denial of nature s way of life or naturalism as the human way an attitude clearest in Mencius The Confucian conception of man s place in nature is that Heaven earth and man are regarded as the three geniuses of the universe This is a distinction somewhat *corresponding to the Babbittian three fold distinction of* supernaturalism humanism and naturalism Heaven is seen as consisting of the clouds the stars and all those unknowable forces which Western legal phraseology sums up as acts of God while the earth is seen as consisting of mountains and rivers and all those forces ascribed in Greek mythology to Demeter and man occupies an all important place between the two Man knows where he belongs in the scheme of things and is proud of his position Like the Chinese roof and unlike the Gothic spires, his spirit does not aspire to heaven but broods over,

mon sense his love of moderation and restraint and his hatred of abstract theories and logical extremes Common sense is possessed by all common people The academic scholar is in constant danger of losing this common sense He is apt to indulge in excesses of theory the reasonable man or the Chinese man of culture should avoid all excesses of theory and conduct You have for instance the historian Froude saying that the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon was for purely political reasons and you have Bishop Creighton claiming, on the other hand that it was entirely dictated by animal lust * whereas the common sense attitude should be that both considerations were effective which is probably nearer the truth In the West one scientist is infatuated by the idea of heredity and another is obsessed by the notion of environment and each one goes about doggedly to prove his theory with great learning and stupidity whereas the Oriental without much cerebration would allow something for both A typically Chinese judgment is *A* is right and *B* is not wrong either

Such self sufficiency is sometimes infuriating to a logical mind but what of it? The reasonable mind keeps a balance when the logical mind has lost it The idea that a Chinese painter could like Picasso take the perfectly logical remark that the world of objects could be reduced to cones planes and angular lines and then proceed logically to carry that theory into painting is obviously impossible in China We have a natural distrust of arguments that are too perfect and theories that are too logical Against such logical freaks of theories common sense is the best and most effective antidote Bertrand Russell has acutely pointed out that In art they [the Chinese] aim at being exquisite and in life at being reasonable"

The result of this worship of common sense is therefore a dislike of all extravagances of theory in thought and all

* See the extremely illuminating little book, *The Man of Common Sense* by George Frederick Wates (John London)

whether of Freud or of Buddha seem to be based on an exaggerated illusion The sufferings of mankind the troubles of married life the sight of a sore ridden beggar or the pains and groanings of a sick man which to us common men are no sooner felt than healthily forgotten must have struck Buddha s hyper sensitive nerves with a force which gave him the vision of a Nirvana Confucian ism on the other hand is the religion of the common man who cannot afford to be hyper sensitive or the world will go to pieces

The working out of the Doctrine of the Golden Mean may be illustrated in all spheres of life and knowledge Logically no man should get married but practically all men should so Confucianism advises marriage Logically all men should be equal but practically all men aren t so Confucianism teaches authority and obedience Logically men and women should not be different but practically they are so Confucianism teaches the differentiation of the sexes One philosopher Motse taught the love of all men and another Yang Chu taught the love of oneself and Mencius condemned them both merely saying Love your own parents It was such a sensible thing to say One philosopher believes in repression of the passions and another believes in naturalistic abandon but Tzussu counselled moderation in all things

Take the question of sexual passion in particular There are two opposite views of sexual ethics one represented by Buddhism and Calvinism which regard sex as the culmination of sin the natural consequence of which is asceticism The other extreme is naturalism which glori fies virility of which many a modern man is a secret fol lower *The conflict between these points of view gives* the modern man his so called restlessness of spirit The man who tries to take a sane and healthy view of sex as a normal human passion like Havelock Ellis inevitably veers toward the Greek view which is the humanist view The Confucian position with regard to sex is that it is a perfectly normal function and more than that it is

feudalism of other parts the fact that life was too system atized and too inhuman there

An equally undesirable effect of the Chinese spirit of reasonableness and its consequent hatred of logical ex tremes has been that the Chinese as a race are unable to have any faith in a system For a system a machine is always inhuman and the Chinese hate anything inhu man The hatred of any mechanistic view of the law and government is so great that it has made government by law impossible in China A rigorous harshly legalistic regime or a really impersonal administration of the law has always failed among us It has failed because it was not liked by the people The conception of a government by law was propounded and developed by thinkers in the third century B C It was tried by Shang Yang a wonder fully efficient administrator who helped to build the power of the Ch in state but eventually Shang Yang had to pay for his efficiency with his life It had worked in Shang Yang s country Ch in a country with suspicious bar barian elements in Kansu had enabled that country to develop a devilishly efficient war machine and conquer the whole of China and had then died out miserably in two decades when the same type of regime was applied to the Chinese people *en masse* The building of the Great Wall was so efficient but so inhuman that it cost Ch in Shih Huang his empire

On the other hand the Chinese humanists preached and the Chinese people have always been under a per sonal government according to which the deficiencies of a system the principle of *ching* can always be remedied by expediency the principle of *ch uan* Instead of a government by law they have always accepted a govern ment by "gentlemen which is more personal more flexi ble and more human An audacious idea this—it assumes that there are enough gentlemen to go round ruling the country! Just as audacious is the assumption of demo cracy that one can find out truth by a mechan[illegible] of an odd jumble of opinions of common unth

Both systems are admittedly imperfect but the personal system seems always to have better suited the Chinese humanist temper Chinese individualism and the Chinese love of freedom

This trait the lack of system characterizes all our social organizations our civil service our colleges our clubs our railways our steamship companies—everything except the foreign controlled Post Office and Maritime Customs—and the failure invariably goes back to the intrusion of the personal element like nepotism and favouritism For only an inhuman mind an unemotional iron face can brush aside personal considerations and maintain a rigid system and such iron faces are not in too great public favour in China for they are all bad Confucianists Thus has been brought about the lack of social discipline the most fatal of Chinese characteristics

The Chinese err therefore rather on the side of being too human For to be reasonable is synonymous with making allowance for human nature In English to say to a man Do be reasonable is the same as making an appeal to human nature as such When Doolittle the father of the flower girl in *Pygmalion* wants to touch Professor Higgins for a five pound note his appeal is Is this reasonable ? The girl belongs to me You got her Where do I come in? Doolittle further typifies the Chinese humanist spirit by asking for five pounds and refusing Professor Higgins s ten pounds for too much money would make him unhappy and a true humanist wants money only to be happy and buy a little drink In other words Doolittle was a Confucianist and knew how to be happy and wanted only to be happy Through this constant appeal to reasonableness the Chinese have developed a capacity for compromise which is the perfectly natural consequence of the Doctrine of the Golden Mean When an English father is unable to decide whether to send his son to Cambridge or Oxford he may end up by sending him to Birmingham So when the son starting out from London and arriving at Bletchley changes neither to the

east for Cambridge nor to the west for Oxford but goes straight north to Birmingham he is merely carrying out the Doctrine of the Golden Mean That road to Birmingham has certain merits By going straight north he succeeds in offending neither Cambridge nor Oxford If one understands this application of the Doctrine of the Golden Mean one can understand the whole game of Chinese politics in the last thirty years and prophesy the outcome of any Chinese declaration of policy blindfold One ceases to be frightened by its literary fireworks

IV Taoism

But has Confucian humanism been sufficient for the Chinese people? It has and it has not If it had completely satisfied man s instincts there would have been no room for Taoism or Buddhism The middle-class morality of Confucianism has worked wonderfully for the common people both those who wear official buttons and those who kowtow to them

But there are people who do not wear or kowtow to the official buttons Man has a deeper nature in him which Confucianism does not quite touch Confucianism in the strict sense of the word is too decorous too reasonable too correct Man has a hidden desire to go about with dishevelled hair which Confucianism does not quite permit The man who enjoys slightly rebellious hair and bare feet goes to Taoism It has been pointed out that the Confucian outlook on life is positive while the Taoistic outlook is negative Taoism is the Great Negation as Confucianism is the Great Affirmation Confucianism through its doctrine of propriety and social status stands for human culture and restraint while Taoism with its emphasis on going back to nature disbelieves in human restraint and culture

Of the two cardinal Confucian virtues benevolence and righteousness Laotse contemptuously said No character then benevolence no benevolence then mo

ness Confucianism is essentially an urban philosophy while Taoism is essentially rural A modern Confucianist would take city licensed pasteurized Grade A milk while a Taoist would take fresh milk from the milkman s pail in the country fashion For Laotse would have been sceptical of the city licence and pasteurization and the so-called Grade A which smells not of the natural cream flavour but of the city councillors ledgers and bank books And who after tasting the peasant s milk can doubt that Laotse was perhaps right? For while your health officers can protect your milk from typhoid germs they cannot protect it from the rats of civilization

There are other deficiencies in Confucianism also It has too much realism and too little room for fancy and imagination And the Chinese are childishly imaginative Something of that youthful wonder which we call magic and superstition remains in the Chinese breast Confucianism provides for the existence of spirits but takes care to keep them at a distance It recognizes the spirits of the mountains and the rivers and even symbolically those of human ancestors but it has no heaven and hell no hierarchy of gods and no cosmogony and its rationalism shows little interest in magic and the pill of immortality Even the realistic Chinese apart from their rationalistic scholars always have a secret desire for immortality Confucianism has no fairies while Taoism ha In short Taoism stands for the childish world of wonder and mystery for which Confucianism fails to provide

Taoism therefore accounts for a side of the Chinese character which Confucianism cannot satisfy There is a natural romanticism and a natural classicism in a nation as in an individual Taoism is the romantic school of Chinese thought as Confucianism is the classic school Actually Taoism is romantic throughout Firstly it stands for the return to nature and the romantic escape from the world and revolts against the artificiality and responsibilities of Confucian culture Secondly it stands for the rural ideal of life art and literature and the wor

ship of primitive simplicity And thirdly it stands for the world of fancy and wonder coupled with a childishly naive cosmogony

The Chinese have been adjudged a matter-of fact people Yet there is a romantic side to their character which is even deeper and which shows itself in their intense individuality in their love of freedom and their happy-go-lucky view of life which so often completely mystifies the foreign observers For myself I think the Chinese people are immeasurably greater for it In every Chinese there is a hidden vagabond with his love of vagabondage Life under the Confucian code of decorum would be unbearable without this emotional relief For Taoism is the playing mood of the Chinese people as Confucianism is their working mood That accounts for the fact that every Chinese is a Confucianist when he is successful and a Taoist when he is a failure The naturalism of Taoism is the balm that soothes the wounded Chinese soul

It is interesting to note how Taoism is more the creation of the Chinese people even than Confucianism and to see how the naturalistic philosophy of Laotse became allied through the working of the folk mind with the Chinese interpretation of the world of spirits Laotse himself had nothing to do with the pill of immortality or with Taoistic magic His was a philosophy of *laissez faire* in government and naturalism in ethics For he believed in a government which does nothing as the ideal government What man needed was to be let alone in his state of primitive freedom Laotse regarded civilization as the beginning of man s degeneration and considered the sages of the Confucian type as the worst corrupters of the people as Nietzsche regarded Socrates as the first corrupter of Europe With his mordant wit he said Sages no dead robbers no end * His great follower Chuangtse

English readers will kindly excuse my grammar as it is found impossible to convey the forceful terseness of the original except by recourse to pidgin Any grammatical improvement will spoil it

followed up with brilliant satires against Confucian hypocrisy and futility

It was all so easy For Confucianism with its emphasis on ceremonialism and anxiety over the distinctions of *mourning periods and the thickness of coffin panels* and with the intense desire of its followers to seek official positions and save the world lent itself easily to caricature The hatred of the Taoist against the Confucianist was the natural hatred of the romanticist against the classicist Perhaps it was not hatred it was merely an irresistible mocking laughter

From this thorough going scepticism it was but a step to romantic escape from the world and return to nature Laotse left his post according to legend in his old age and disappeared outside the Hankukuan Pass Chuangtse was offered a high post by the King of Ch u but replied by asking whether it was wise to be kept and fed like a pig and then be slaugh ered and offered up on the sacrificial altar From that moment on Taoism has always been associated with the recluse the retirement to the mountains the worship of the rural life the cultivation of the spirit and the prolongation of man s life and the banishment of all worldly cares and worries And from this we derive the most characteristic charm of Chinese culture the rural ideal of life art and literature

The question may be asked How much was Laotse responsible for this recluse ideal? The *Taotehking* ascribed to him is a lesser literary accomplishment than the books of Chuangtse the Chinese Nietzsche but it is a more concentrated essence of old roguish wisdom It is to my mind the most brilliantly wicked philosophy of self protection in world literature Besides teaching *laissez faire* and passive resistance it taught also the wisdom of stupidity, the strength of weakness the advantage of lying low and the importance of camouflage One of its maxims was Never be the first of the world for the simple reason that thus one could never be exposed to attack and consequently never fall It was so far as I

know the only known theory of ignorance and stupidity as the best camouflage in life's battle in spite of the fact that the theory itself was the result of the highest human intelligence

Human intelligence in Laotse had seen its own dangers and began to preach Be stupid' as its greatest message It had seen the futility of human effort and therefore advised the doctrine of doing nothing as a saving of energy and a method of prolonging life From this point on the positive outlook on life became negative and its influence has coloured the whole Oriental culture As may be seen in the novel *Yehsao Paoyen* and in all lives of great Chinese the conversion of a bandit or a recluse into a man of the world with responsibilities toward one's fellow beings was always represented by a Confucian argument while the romantic escape from the world was always represented by the Taoistic or Buddhistic point of view In Chinese these two opposite attitudes are called entering the world and leaving the world Sometimes these two points of view struggle for supremacy in the same man and at different periods in his life as may be seen in the life of Yuan Chunglang A living example is that of Professor Liang Suming who was a Buddhist living in the mountains but who was reconverted to Confucianism married and is now conducting a rural middle school in Shantung

The rural ideal of life art and literature which is such an important feature of the Chinese civilization owes a large measure to this Taoistic feeling for nature In Chinese paintings on scrolls and porcelain there are two favourite themes one being the happiness of family life with pictures of women and children in their leisure the other being the happiness of the rural life with pictures of a fisherman or a woodcutter or a recluse sitting on the ground under a group of pine trees These two themes may represent respectively the Confucianist and the Taoistic ideal of life The woodcutter the herb gatherer and the recluse are more closely associated with Taoism n

Just a handful of hay hides your cot
If land is sterile
To make it fertile
A young calf will surely help a lot
Teach thy sons to read too in spare hours
Not for fame nor for Mandarin collars
Brew your wine plant bamboos water flowers
Thus a house for generations of scholars

The Chinese ideal of happiness was then not the exercise of one s powers along the lines of their excellence as was that of the Greeks but the enjoyment of this simple rural life together with the harmony of social relationships

The real force of Taoism especially among the people however consists largely in supplying a world of unknowables which Confucian good sense banished from its province of ideas It is recorded in the *Analects* that Confucius seldom talked about the supernatural and the spirits Confucianism offered no hell and no heaven nor any formula for immortality of the soul It solved the problems of human nature but left out of consideration the riddle of the universe It was at a loss to know even the workings of the human body In this way it left a large loophole in its philosophy and allowed the popular mind to disentangle with the help of Taoistic mysticism the mysteries of nature

The workings of this mind were soon apparent in Huainantse (178 122 B C) who mixed philosophy with a wonderland of spirits and legends Starting out with the dualistic notion of *yin* (female) and *yang* (male) principles already current in the period of the Warring Kingdoms Taoism soon added to its territory the fairies of the ancient Shantung barbarians who dreamed of a fairyland out on the high seas to which place the first emperor of Ch in actually started out with five hu boys and virgins to seek his immortality The ho the imagination then became irresistible and

V Buddhism

Buddhism is the only important foreign influence that has become part and parcel of Chinese life The influence is so deep that we now speak of children s dolls and sometimes the children themselves as little buddhisat vas (*hsiao p usa*) and the Empress Dowager herself was addressed as Old Buddha The Goddess of Mercy and the smiling Buddha have become Chinese household words Buddhism has affected our language our food our arts our sculpture and directly inspired the charac teristic pagoda It has stimulated our literature and our whole world of imagination The little monkish figure with his bald head and his grey robes forms an intimate part of any panorama of society and Buddhist temples rather than those of Confucius are the centre of the town and village life where the elders gather to decide on vil lage matters and annual celebrations Its monks and nuns penetrate the privacies of Chinese households on all oc casions of births deaths and weddings as no other per sons are allowed to do and hardly a widow or virgin can be seduced according to the Chinese novels without the *help of these religious figures*

Buddhism in short means to the Chinese people what religion means to people in other countries namely some thing that comes to the rescue when human reason falters or fails In modern China Buddhist monks are more popular than Taoist monks and for every Taoist temple (*kuan*) there are ten Buddhist temples (*miao*) to be found As late as 1933-4 the Panchen Lama of Thibet sprinkled holy water over tens of thousands of people in Peiping and Nanking including high government person ages like Tuan Ch ijui and Tai Chit ao and was royally entertained by the Central and local governments in Nan king Shanghai Hangchow and Canton As late as May 1934 Nola Kotuhutu another Thibetan lama a guest of the Canton Government publicly decl ability to protect people against poison gas u tions and actually was able to influence a

to change the position of his guns at this fort through his superior knowledge of astrology and necromancy Their influence would not be so great if the Chinese could see a clear way to repel Japanese attacks by modern military science The Chinese reason here falters and therefore turns to religion Since the Chinese army cannot help the Chinese they are willing to be helped by Buddha

Buddhism has conquered China as a philosophy and as a religion as a philosophy for the scholars and as a religion for the common people Whereas Confucianism has only a philosophy of moral conduct Buddhism possesses a logical method a metaphysics and a theory of knowledge Besides it is fortunate in having a high tradition of scholarship in the translations of Buddhist classics and the language of these translations so succinct and often so distinguished by a beautiful lucidity of language and reasoning cannot but attract scholars with a philosophical bias Hence Buddhism has always enjoyed a prestige among the Chinese scholars which so far Christianity has failed to achieve

Buddhist influence has been so great as to transform Confucianism itself Confucian scholarship since the Chou Dynasty was confined to textual emendations and philologic commentaries The fashion for the study of Buddhism believed to be introduced to China in the first Christian century rose steadily throughout the Northern Wei and Chin Dynasties and produced a change of emphasis from textual commentaries to the inner philosophic meaning (*yili*) In the Sung Dynasty there arose directly under its influence a new Confucian school or several schools which called themselves *lihsueh* or philosophy The preoccupation was still with moral problems but terms like *hsing* (nature) *li* (reason) *ming* (predestination) *hsin* (mind) *wu* (matter) and *chih* (knowledge) were brought into the foreground There was a reawakened interest in the Confucian *Yiking* (*Book of Changes*) which studies the mutations of human events These Sung Confucianists one and all especially the

Ch eng brothers had delved deep into Buddhism and came back to Confucianism with a newly won perspective The realization of truth was spoken of as by Lu Chiuyen as an awakening in the Buddhistic sense following a long meditation Buddhism did not convert these scholars but it changed the tenor of Confucianism itself

Equally great was its influence over writers like Su Tungp o who were in an armed camp against these scholars but who played with Buddhism in their own light dilettante way Su Tungp o styled himself a *chussu* which means a Confucian scholar living in Buddhistic retirement without becoming a monk a most peculiarly Chinese invention which allowed a follower of Buddhism to live in married life and become a vegetarian for periods at leisure One of Su s best friends was a learned monk Fovin and the difference between these two friends was only a difference of degree of conversion This was the time when Buddhism prospered under imperial protection with a Government Bureau for the translation of Buddhist classics and counting at one time almost half a million monks and nuns Since Su Tungp o s time and largely due to his great literary influence many a scholar of high standing has played with Buddhism and become a *chussu* of Su s type if not actually entering a monastery as a monk In times of national disorder as during the change of dynasties a great number of scholars shaved their heads and took monastic orders as much for personal protection as out of feeling for the helpless chaos of the world

There is justification enough in a chaotic country for the popularity of a religion which declares the vanity of the world and offers a refuge from the pains and vicissitudes of this earthly life We have to day an extant copy of the life of Lu Liching by his daughter Lu Liching at the end of the Ming Dynasty and the beginning of the Manchu Dynasty disappeared from the world in his old age and after long years of separation from his wife and children once entered the city of Hangchow to cure the

sickness of his brother but refused to see his own family living next door What disillusionment a man must have perceived of the phenomena of this life to do such a thing!

And yet it is not impossible to understand it after reading his daughter s *Life* The depth of disillusionment was equal only to the depth of his personal sufferings Accused of having a hand in the publication of a work by another author which was considered disrespectful to the new Manchu regime this man after bidding farewell to his ancestors in a sacrificial prayer started out with his whole family to Peking in chains and under guard with the constant expectation that his wife and children and close relatives would be slaughtered wholesale He had said in his prayer that if he came back alive he would become a monk and he did In this sense Buddhism was an unconscious gesture of man in his battle with life a form of revenge somewhat similar in psychology to suicide when life proved too cruelly superior Many beautiful and talented girls at the end of the Ming Dynasty took the monastic vow through disappointment in love caused by those catastrophic changes and the first emperor of the Manchu Dynasty became a monk for the same reason

But apart from this negative protest against life there is an aspect of Buddhism which has an evangelical influence on the common people and works for general kindness The most vivid and direct influence it exercises over the people is through its doctrine of transmigration Buddhism has not taught the Chinese to befriend the animals but it has largely restrained the consumption of beef The Chinese Doctrine of the Golden Mean has encouraged the people in the consumption of pork as an inevitable evil and on the plea that the pig is a less useful animal than the cow except as food But it has driven home to the Chinese consciousness the idea that butchery is inhuman and displeasing to the gods During the flood in 1933 the Hankow local government forbade butchery for three days as an atonement toward the river god and this practice is practically universal whenever there is a drought or

famine Vegetarianism can hardly be defended on biologic grounds since man is born with natural carnivorous as well as herbivorous teeth but it can be defended on humane grounds Mencius was conscious of this cruelty but being unwilling to forgo meat entirely he fought his way out by *giving the formula that a gentleman kept* away from the kitchen The fact that one does not see what happens in the kitchen eases the Confucian conscience This solution of the dietetic difficulty was typical of the Doctrine of the Golden Mean Many a Chinese grandmother wishing to please Buddha and not willing to forgo meat entirely would apply the Doctrine of the Golden Mean in a different fashion by turning vegetarian for a definite period from a single day to three years

But on the whole Buddhism forces the Chinese people to admit butchery as an inhuman act This is but one consequence of the doctrine of transmigration which works for general humaneness toward animals and one's fellow beings For the consequent doctrine of retribution and the possible soul survival in the form of a sore ridden beggar or a flea ridden dog may be a more effective object lesson for good behaviour than a hell of pointed knives learned by hearsay Actually the true Buddhist follower is a kinder person more pacific more patient and more philanthropic than others His philanthropy may not be ethically worth much since every cent given and every cup of tea offered to the passing stranger is an investment in personal future happiness and therefore essentially selfish but what religion does not use the same bait? William James has wisely said that religion is the most colossal chapter in the history of human selfishness Man outside the sincere humanist seems to need this selfish bait Nevertheless Buddhism has given rise to the great institution of well to do families providing big earthen jars of cold tea for passing wayfarers on hot summer days It is in common phraseology a good thing irrespective of motive

Many Chinese novels like the tales of Boccaccio have accused the monks and nuns of immorality This is based on the universal human delight taken in exposing all forms of hypocrisy It is natural and easy therefore to make Casanovas of Chinese monks provided with witch craft and secret aphrodisiacs There are actually cases in certain parts of Chekiang for example where a nunnery is but a house of prostitution But on the whole the charge is unfair and most monks are good retiring polite and well behaved people and any Don Juan exploits are limited to transgressing individuals and are grossly exaggerated in novels for effect From my personal observation most monks are underfed anæmic and incapable of such exploits Besides this misjudgment is due to the failure to see the connection between sex and religion in China The monks have a greater chance to see beautifully dressed women than any other class of people in China The practice of their religion whether in private homes or in their temples brings them in daily contact with women who are otherwise shut away from the public Thanks to the Confucian seclusion of women the only unimpeachable pretext for women to appear in public is to go to the temples and burn incense On the first and fifteenth of every month and on every festive occasion the Buddhist temple is the rendezvous of all the local beauties married or otherwise dressed in their Sunday best If any monk eats pork on the sly he may also be expected to indulge in occasional irregularities Add to this the fact that many monasteries are exceptionally well endowed and many monks have plenty of money to spend which is the cause of mischief in many cases that have come to light in recent years In 1934 a nun actually had the audacity to sue a monk for infidelity in a Shanghai court Anything may happen in China

I give here a refined example of the literary handling of the sexual problems of the monks The poem is called a Young Nun s Worldly Desires which is a favourite topic and has many versions It is taken from a popular

Chinese drama *The White Fur-Coat* and in Chinese is incidentally first-class poetry in the form of the young nun s soliloquy

A young nun am I sixteen years of age

My head is shaven in my young maidenhood

For my father he loves the Buddhist sutras
And my mother she loves the Buddhist priests

Morning and night morning and night
I burn incense and I pray For I
Was born a sickly child full of ills
So they decided to send me here
Into this monastery

Amitabha! Amitabha!
Unceasingly I pray
Oh tired am I of the humming of the drums and the tinkling of the bells
Tired am I of the droning of the prayers and the crooning of the priors
The chatter and the clatter of unintelligible charms
The clamour and the clangour of interminable chants
The mumbling and the murmuring of monotonous psalms
Panjnaparamita Mayura sutra
Saddharamapundarika—
Oh how I hate them all!

While I say mitabha
I sigh for my beau
While I chant saparah
My heart cries Oh!
While I sing tarata
My heart palpitates so!

Ah let me take a little stroll
Let me take a little stroll
(She comes to the Hall of the Five Hundred Lohan which are known for their distinctive facial expressions)

Ah here are the Lohan
What a bunch of silly amorous souls!
Every one a bearded man!
How each his eyes at me rolls!
Look at the one hugging his knees!
His lips are mumbling my name so!
And the one with his cheek in his hand
As though thinking of me so!
That one has a pair of dreamy eyes
Dreaming dreams of me so!
But the Lohan in sackcloth!
What is he after
With his hellish heathenish laughter?
With his roaring rollicking laughter
Laughing at me so!
——*Laughing at me for*
When beauty is past and youth is lost
Who will marry an old crone?
When beauty is faded and youth is jaded
Who will marry an old shrivelled cocoon?
The one holding a dragon
He is cynical
The one riding a tiger
He looks quizzical
And that long browed handsome giant
He seems pitiful
For what will become of me when my beauty is gone?
These candles of the altar
They are not for my bridal chamber
These long incense containers
They are not for my bridal parlour
And the straw prayer cushions
They cannot serve as quilt or cover
Oh God!
Whence comes this burning suffocating ardour?
Whence comes this strange infernal unearthly ardour?

I ll tear these monkish robes!
I ll bury all the Buddhist sutras
I ll drown the wooden fish
And leave all the monastic putras!
I ll leave the drums
I ll leave the bells
And the chants
And the yells
And all the interminable exasperating religious chatter!
I ll go downhill and find me a young and handsome lover—
Let him scold me beat me!
Kick or ill treat me!
I will *not* become a buddha!
I will *not* mumble mita panjra para!

This brings us to the topic of the actual service of the Buddhistic religion as an emotional outlet for the Chinese people First it makes the seclusion of women not so complete and more endurable The desire of women to go to the temple as against the lesser desire of men to do the same is as much due to their emotional need for going outdoors as to the usual greater religiosity of women The first and fifteenth days of a month and the festive occasions are days actually anticipated for weeks ahead by women in their secluded chambers

Secondly its spring pilgrimages provide legitimate outlet for the very much atrophied Chinese *Wanderlust* These pilgrimages come in early spring and coincide with Easter Those who cannot go far away at least may go to weep on the relatives graves on *ch ingming* day which has the same emotional basis Those who can put on sandals or go in sedan chairs to the famous temples Some people in Amoy still persist in sailing about five hundred miles on old sailing junks to the Pootoo Islands off the coast of Ningpo every spring In the North the annual pilgrimage to Miaofengshan is still a prevailing custom Thousands of pilgrims old and young men and women may be seen on the trail carrying sticks and yellow b-

PROLOGUE TO PART TWO

WE have now surveyed the mental and moral constitution of the Chinese people and the ideals of life which influence the fundamental pattern of Chinese life It remains to make a study of Chinese life itself in its sexual social political literary and artistic aspects Stated briefly these will cover Chinese women society governments literature and art together with a special chapter devoted to the art of living as the Chinese have conceived and practised it These arrange themselves again into two groups The first three are necessarily connected for an understanding of the life of women and the home will lead to a consideration of the Chinese social life and only from a true understanding of the Chinese social life will it be possible to understand the administration of justice and government in China The study of these visible aspects of Chinese life will naturally lead to an inquiry into the subtler and less known problems of Chinese culture especially in the field of art with an outlook and a history of development peculiar to the Chinese people and totally different from the West The Chinese culture is one of the truly indigenous cultures of the world and as such will be found to offer many interesting points of comparison with Western culture

For culture is a product of leisure and the Chinese have had the immense leisure of three thousand years to develop it In these three thousand years they have had plenty of *time to drink tea and look at life quietly over their* teacups and from the gossip over the teacups they have boiled life down to its essence They have had plenty of time too to discus their forefathers to ponder over their achievements and to review the successive changes of the modes of art and of life and to see their own in the light

of the long past And from this gossiping and pondering history came to have a great meaning it came to be spoken of as the mirror which reflects human experience for the benefit of the present and which is like a gathering stream uninterrupted continuous The writing of history then became the most serious form of literature and the writing of poetry became its highest and most refined emotional outlet

Sometimes when the wine was fragrant and the tea well brewed amidst the singing of the kettle and the gurgling of the spring a happy thought came to the Chinese and at intervals of about five hundred years or under the forces of changed circumstances their minds became creative and a new discovery was made either in the metre of poetry or in the improvement of porcelain or in the art of grafting pear trees and the nation moved on They gave up speculation about immortality as something for ever unknowable but for ever to be conjectured and gossiped about half seriously and half playfully Equally they gave up the mysteries of nature thunderstorms and lightning and hail and snow and the mysteries of their own bodily functions such as the connection between salival flow and hunger They did not use the test tube or the scalpel So sometimes it seemed to them as if the whole sphere of the knowable had been exhausted by their ancient forefathers and the last word on human philosophy said and the last rhythm in calligraphy discovered

So they fell more seriously to the business of living than to the business of making progress They took infinite pains and spent sleepness nights over the planning of their private gardens or the cooking of sharks fins and fell to eating with the seriousness and gusto of an Omar Khayyam who trailed the dust of philosophy in vain and took again the vine for his spouse In this they crossed the threshold of all the arts and entered the hall of the art of life itself and art and life became one They achieved that crown of Chinese culture the art of living which is the end of all human wisdom

Chapter Five

WOMAN'S LIFE

I THE SUBJECTION OF WOMEN

SOMETHING in the Chinese blood never quite gave woman her due from primeval times The fundamental dualistic outlook with the differentiation of the *yang* (male) and the *yin* (female) principles went back to the *Book of Changes* which was later formulated by Confucius The respect for women a certain tenderness toward the female sex which was characteristic of the Teutonic races already in their barbaric days was absent in the early pages of Chinese History As early as the time of the folk songs collected in the *Book of Poems* there was a sexual inequality for when a baby boy was born he was laid on the bed and given jade to play with *and when a baby girl was born she was laid on the floor* and given a tile to play with (This song must have been centuries older than Confucius) But woman was not subjected until she was civilized The progressive subjection of women followed pace by pace the increasing development of Confucianism

The original social system was a matriarchal system and this is important for something of this spirit still survives in Chinese womanhood to the present day The Chinese woman is on the whole a constitutionally sounder animal than her male companion and we still have plenty of matriarchs even in the Confucian households Traces of this matriarchy were still clearly visible in the Chou Dynasty when the family name or *hsing* was the woman's name and man had only a personal name or *shih* after his place of birth or his official position Throughout the folk songs of the *Book of Poems* we fail to see any traces

of the seclusion of women Something of the freedom in the choice of mates like what still prevails among the southern aborigines of Kwangsi must have prevailed in the ancient times It was raw and it was free One folk song from the *Book of Poems* runs thus

If thou thinkest of me
I will lift my petticoat
  And cross the river Ts en *
If thou thinkest not of me
Why are there not other men?
  —Oh thou silly boy!

If thou thinkest of me
I will lift my petticoat
  And cross the River Wo
If thou thinkest not of me
Why are there not other beaux?
  —Oh thou silly boy!

The *Book of Poems* also has many examples of songs of women who ran away with their lovers The marriage system had not yet become the severe bondage of women that it was in later days The sexual relations of men in the times of Confucius especially those prevailing in the upper classes had something analogous to those in the days of decadent Rome with numerous cases of incest with stepmothers with daughters in law with sisters in law the presentation of one s wife to a neighbouring ruler the marrying of a son s wife for one s own benefit illicit relations between the queen and the prime minister etc with which the *Chochuan* abounds Woman who is always powerful in China was powerful then The Queen of Wei made the King summon the handsomest man in the country to her boudoir Divorce was still easy and divorcees could remarry The cult of feminine chastity had not yet become an obsession with men

* The spellings of these river names have been slightly altered to suit the rhyme

Then came Confucianism with its seclusion of women The separation of men and women was soon pushed by the Confucianists to such extremes that married sisters could not eat at the same table with their brothers according to the *Book of Rites* To what extent such ceremonial rites in the books were observed in practice it is impossible to ascertain It is easy to understand this seclusion from the viewpoint of the whole Confucian social philosophy It stood for a society with emphasis on distinction between superiority and inferiority It stood for obedience for recognition of authority in a family as in a state and for the division of labour between man s duties outside and women s duties in the home It encouraged the womanly woman and naturally taught such feminine virtues as quietness obedience good manners personal neatness industry ability in cooking and spinning respect for the husband s parents kindness to the husband s brothers courtesy to the husband s friends and all those virtues desirable from the male point of view Nothing was radically wrong in these moral instructions and with their economic dependence and their love of conventions women accepted them Perhaps the women desired to be good or perhaps they desired to please the men

Confucianism saw that this sexual differentiation was necessary for social harmony and perhaps Confucianism was quite near the truth Then Confucianism also gave the wife an equal position with the husband somewhat below the husband but still an equal helpmate like the two fish in the Taoist symbol of *yin* and *yang* necessarily complementing each other It also gave the mother an honoured position in the home In the best spirit of Confucianism this differentiation was interpreted not as a subjection but as a harmony of relationships Women who could rule their husbands knew that dependence on this sexual arrangement was their best and most effective weapon for power and women who could not were too dull to raise feminist problems

This was the Confucian attitude toward women and women's position in society before it came under the influence of the later men scholars. It had not yet developed that curiously and perversely selfish aspect characteristic of the later attitudes, but the basic notions of woman's inferiority were there. One flagrant instance was the rule that while the husband's mourning period for the wife was only one year, the wife's mourning period for the husband was three years, and while the normal mourning period for one's parents was three years, that of the wife for her own father was only one year if the husband's father was still living. Typically feminine virtues like obedience and loyalty were codified by Liu Hsiang in the Han Dynasty into something like a feminine ethics quite distinct from that for the men, and Pan Ch'ao, the woman author of *Women's Guide*, was the great exponent of the "three obediences and four virtues" of women. The three obediences were: when a woman is in her maiden home she obeys her father, when married she obeys her husband, and when her husband dies she obeys her son. The last was of course never carried out, owing to the superior position of the mother in the Confucian scheme. In this Dynasty women who died for their chastity were already officially honoured with stone *pailou* or with official titles from the court. But women could still marry a second time.

In tracing the development of the theory of chaste widowhood, it would be dangerous to lend too much weight to academic theory, for the Chinese are always a realistic people and have a way of withering theories with a laugh. Practice must have lagged behind theory, and even as late as the Manchu times chaste widowhood was expected of the wife of a scholar with official titles but not of the common women. Even in the T'ang Dynasty the daughter of the great scholar Han Yu married a second time. Of the T'ang princesses, twenty-three married a second time and four of them married a third time. But the tradition started in the Han Dynasty centuries before

was there at work reinforcing the early tradition that men could remarry but women could not

After this came the Sung scholars who imposed a secluded life on women and made the remarrying of widows a moral crime. Worship of chastity which they so highly prized in women became something of a psychological obsession and women were henceforth to be responsible for social morals from which the men were exempt. More than that, women were to be responsible for courage and strength of character also which curiously the men so admired in the gentle sex, for the emphasis had shifted from women's ordinary routine domestic virtues to female heroism and self sacrifice. Already in the ninth century a widow was greatly praised by the Confucian males for cutting off her arm because a hotel keeper had dragged her by it when she was refused entrance on her way home accompanying her husband's coffin. In the Mongol Dynasty another widow was greatly honoured for refusing to show her ulcered breast to the doctor and heroically dying of it.*

In the Ming Dynasty this doctrine of chaste widowhood became an official institution. Women who kept their widowhood from any age under thirty to the age of fifty were officially honoured with *pailou* and their families were exempt from official labour service. It became then not only highly moral to admire purity of character in women but also highly convenient for the male relatives to do so. Chaste widowhood became not only popular with the men and the widows' relatives but also became one of the easiest ways for women to distinguish themselves. They lent honour not only to their own families but to their whole village or clan. In this sense it had truly become a popular obsession with just a few occa-

* Most of these stories can be found in the official histories of the different dynasties where special sections are devoted to lives of great women along with those of men. A woman who distinguished herself by committing suicide to guard her chastity had a fair chance of leaving her name in literature in one or another

sional protests from independent minds It was this doc trine of chaste widowhood that caused Confucianism to be denounced during the Renaissance of 1917 as a man eating religion

Along with the development of Confucian theory a stream of real life was going on based on social conven tions and still more on economic pressure More im portant than the influence of Confucianism was the fact that men controlled the purse For while Confucianism had erected chaste widowhood into a religion jewels and pearl necklaces which had nothing to do with Confucian ism turned women into concubines and cocottes The accumulation of wealth and the rise of great houses during the Wei and Ch in Dynasties coupled with the general political disorder encouraged concubinage on the one hand and forced the drowning of baby girls on the other owing to the fact that poor parents could not provide for the expensive wedding ceremonies of their daughters In these times many rulers and rich families had dancing girls in their private households by the tens and hundreds and the life of licentious luxury and female entertainment was something that would have satisfied a roue s dreams Women in short had become the playthings of men Shih Ts ung who had dozens of concubines used to make them tread on a bed spread with rare incen e powder and those who were light enough to leave no footprint on it would be rewarded with strings of pearl necklaces while those who did would be put on the diet and instructed to reduce Those pearl necklaces rather than Confucian ism were the cause of women s downfall in China as in ancient Rome or modern New York The situation was therefore ripe for the institution of footbinding which was the last sophistication of male fancy

Paradoxically it was in this period that Chinese women were known throughout for their jealousy and henpecked officials often appeared at court with bruised faces re sulting in punishment of their jealous wives by royal de cree A certain Liu Poyu used to recite the *Ode to the*

Goddess of River Lo and once remarked with a sigh in his wife's hearing What a beauty for a wife! His wife said Why do you praise the Goddess of River Lo and insult me? When I die I will become a water spirit That night she drowned herself in the river Seven days afterwards the wife appeared before Poyu in a dream and said *You wanted to marry a goddess now I am a goddess* For the rest of his life Liu Poyu never dared cross a stream Whenever women passed the river at this ferry called the Ferry of the Jealous Woman (in Shantung) they had to hide or crumple their beautiful dresses and disfigure themselves otherwise a storm would come up But if the women were ugly the goddess was not jealous And women who passed the ferry without raising a storm thought *they must be ugly themselves*

It is easy to see how women's jealousy grew with the system of concubinage It was their only weapon of defence A jealous wife could by the sheer force of this instinct prevent her husband from having concubines modern instances of which can still be found If man had sense enough to see that marriage is woman's best and only profession he would be able to excuse in her such *professional ethics* whether with concubines or not Ou scholar Yu Chenghsieh discovered as early as 1833 that jealousy is no vice in women Women who lose their husbands favour have about the same feeling as a professional clerk who loses the good favour of his employer and unmarried girls have about the same feeling as a man ou of employment Man's professional jealousy in commercial competition is just as merciless as woman's in *the field of love* and a small trader has just as much *liking* for being put out of business as a shopkeeper's wife has in seeing her husband take to another woman Such is the logic of the economic dependence of women The failure to see this is responsible for the jokes about gold diggers for gold diggers are merely the female counterpart of successful business men they are more clear minded than their sisters sell their goods to the highest bidders

Dowager ruled the nation whether Emperor Hsienfeng was living or not There are many Empress Dowagers in China still politically or in common households The home is the throne from which she makes appointments for mayors or decides the professions of her grandsons

The more one knows Chinese life the more one realizes that the so-called suppression of women is an Occidental criticism that somehow is not borne out by a closer knowledge of Chinese life That phrase certainly cannot apply to the Chinese mother and supreme arbiter of the household Anyone who doubts this should read the *Red Chambe Dream* a monument of Chinese home life Study the position of the grandmother Chiamu the relationship between Fengchieh and her husband or that of any other couple (that of the father Chia Cheng and his wife is perhaps most normal and typical) and see whether it is the man or the woman who rules in the family Some Western women readers might envy the position of the old grandmother who was the most honoured person in the whole household who was treated with decency and respect and to whose chamber the daughters in law repaired almost every morning to pay their respects and decide the most important family affairs What if Chiamu had a pair of bound feet and was secluded? The doorkeepers and men servants had to use their feet more than she Or study the character of Madame Water the mother of the Confucian hero in *Yehsao Paoyen* who was well educated and a model of Confucian wisdom and who was undoubtedly the highest character in the whole novel One word from her could bring her son the prime minister to his knees and she watched over the welfare of the big family with infinite wisdom as a mother hen guards over her chicken yard She ruled with a wise and benign rulership and all the daughters in law were her willing slaves The character is perhaps overdrawn but it is not mere fiction Yes woman rules in the family while man rules outside it for Confucius has set this sharp division of labour

The women know it too To day the salesgirls in the department stores of Shanghai still look with eyes of envy on the married women with their fat handbags and wish they were buying instead of selling Sometimes they wish they were knitting sweaters for their babies instead of counting the change and standing for a stretch of eight hours is long and tiring in high heeled shoes Most of them know instinctively which is the better thing Some of them prefer their independence but the so-called independence in a man ruled society does not amount to much The cynical ones laugh a little at this independence The primeval urge of motherhood—formless wordless and vague and strong—fills their whole beings The maternal urge causes the cosmetic urge all so innocent so natural and so instinctive and they count the savings from their starvation wages which hardly suffice to buy them the mesh stockings they are selling themselves They wish they had a boy friend to buy them presents and they would perhaps ask him to indirectly shyly in an effort to keep their self respect Chinese girls are essentially decent but why shouldn t they ask men to buy them presents? How else may they purchase mesh stockings which their instinct tells them they must have? Life is such a mix up! All too clearly the idea dawns upon them that they want one man to buy them presents for life They want to marry Their instinct is right What is wrong in marriage? What is wrong in protected motherhood?

In the home they have arrived They knit and they sew although now in the middle-class families in Kiangsu and Chekiang they do not even cook or sew For men have beat them on their own ground and the best tailors and cooks are men and not women Men will continue to beat them in every profession except marriage For men have every advantage over women outside marriage while inside marriage women have every advantage over men and they know it In every nation the happiness of women does not depend on how many social advantages enjoy but on the quality of the men they

Women suffer more from male tyranny and coarseness than from the disqualification to vote When men are naturally reasonable and good tempered and considerate women do not suffer Besides women have always the weapon of sex which they can use to great advantage It is nature s guarantee for their equality Somehow every man from emperor to butcher baker and candlestick maker has colded his wife and been scolded by her because nature has ordained that man and woman should meet in their intimacies as equals Certain fundamental relations like that between husband and wife differ much less in the different countries than one would imagine from travellers descriptions Westerners are apt to imagine *Chinese wives as mute slaves of their husbands although* actually Chinese husbands on the average are fairly reasonable and considerate beings while Chinese are apt to think that because the Westerners have never heard of Confucius therefore Western wives don t look after their husbands laundry and stomachs but simply go to he beach in pyjama suits or live in a continuous round of dancing parties The unique and the exotic make such interesting after dinner stories while the central and common truths of humanity are forgotten

In real life then women have not really been oppressed by men Many men who marry concubines and make cats nests of their homes and dodge from one woman s chamber to another are the real sufferers There is moreover that curious sexual attraction which makes it impossible for relatives of any degree of different sex to dislike each other strongly Women therefore are not oppressed by their husbands or by their fathers in law nor can sisters in law oppress one another since they are of equal rank although they never like each other The only remaining possibility is that daughters in law may be oppressed by the mothers in law and this is often what actually happens The life of the daughter in law in a big Chinese family with its manifold responsibilities is often a very hard one For it must be remem

bered that a marriage in China is not an individual affair but a family affair a man does not marry a wife but marries a daughter in law as the idiomatic expression goes and when a son is born the idiomatic expression is a grandson has been born A daughter in law therefore has more severe obligations toward her parents than toward her husband A poem of the T'ang Dynasty by Wang Chien recorded a sympathetic sentiment for the New Bride

> On the third day washing her hands
> She goes to make a soup of special savour
> She knows not how the parents like it
> And makes her husband's sister taste its flavour

For a woman to please a man is a noble effort but for her to please another woman is heroic and many of them fail The son torn between loyalty to parents and love for his wife never quite dares stand up for her Practically all tales of cruelty to women could be traced to an oppressor of the same sex But then the daughter in law bides her time to be mother in law in turn If she does arrive at that much-desired old age it is truly a position of honour and power well earned by a life of service

III Ideal of Womanhood

The seclusion of women has however a very definite influence over our ideal of beauty our ideal of womanhood the education of our daughters and the forms of love and courtship in China

The Chinese and the Western conceptions of the feminine differ While both conceptions envelop the feminine with a sense of charm and mystery yet the point of view is essentially different This is clearest in the field of art While in Western art the feminine body is taken as the source of inspiration and the highest perfection of pure rhythm in Chinese art the feminine body itself borrows its beauty from the rhythms of nature To a Chinese nothing is more striking than that the statue of a woman

should be placed high up in the harbour of New York to be looked at by all people coming into the country The idea of feminine exposure is indecorous to the ex treme And when he learns that the woman there does not represent the feminine but the idea of liberty he is still more shocked Why should Liberty be represented by a woman? And why should Victory and Justice and Peace be represented by women? The Greek ideal to him is new For in the West man s imagination has somehow deified woman and conferred on her a spiritual ethereal quality representing all that is pure noble beautiful and unearthly

To a Chinese a woman is a woman who does not know how to enjoy herself A Chinese boy is told that he cannot grow up if he passes under a woman s trousers on the washing line The idea of worship of a woman on a pedestal and the exposure of woman s body are there fore manifestly impossible With the seclusion of women the exposure of the female form both in art and in every day life seems indecorous to the extreme and some of the masterpieces of Western painting in the Dresden Gallery are definitely classed under the category of pornography The fashionable modern Chinese artists who are aping the West dare not say so but there are Continental artists who frankly admit the sensuous origin of all art and make no secret of it

But the Chinese libido is there only dressed in a different expression Women s dress is not designed to reveal the body of the human form but to simulate nature A Western artist may see through the use of his sensuous imagination a female nude form in the rising sea waves while a Chinese sees in the draperies of the Goddess of Mercy the sea waves themselves The whole rhythm of a woman s form is modelled after the graceful rhythm of the weeping willows which accounts for her intentionally drooping shoulders Her eyes suggest the apricot her eyebrows the crescent moon the light of her eyes the silent waters of an autumn lake her teeth are like

the seeds of pomegranate her waist like the weeping willows her fingers like the spring bamboo shoots and her bound feet again like the crescent moon Such poetic expressions are by no means absent in the West but the whole spirit of Chinese art and the pattern of Chinese women s dress in particular justify the taking of such expressions seriously For woman s body as body the Chinese have no appreciation We see very little of it in art Chinese artists fail dismally in the portrayal of the human form and even an artist like Chiu Shihchou (Ming Period) famous for his paintings of female life shows the upper part of the female nude form very much like a potato Few Chinese unversed in Western art can tell the beauty of a woman s neck or of a woman s back The *Tsashih Pishin* a work ascribed to the Han Dynasty but really belonging to the Ming Period gave a fairly good account of the perfect female nude body showing a real delight in its form as such but it is almost the only exception This is one result of the seclusion of women

As a matter of fact these changes of fashion do not matter Women s costumes will change and men will admire them as long as they are worn by women and women will wear them as long as men think them beautiful The change from the Victorian crinoline and farthingale to the slim boyish figure of the early twentieth century and on to the Mae West craze of 1935 is actually more striking than the difference between the Chinese and foreign women s dress As long as women wear it it is always divine for men An international pageant of women s dress ought to make this point sufficiently clear Only a decade ago Chinese women paraded the streets in trousers and to-day they are floating in long gowns covering the ankles while women in the West are wearing skirts but the trousered pyjama has every possibility of coming into fashion The only effect such changes give is that it engenders in men a broad mind

What is of far more importance is the connection between women s seclusion and the ideal of womanhood That

ideal is the ideal of a helpful wife and wise mother a phrase very much held up to ridicule in modern China especially by those modern women who desire above all equality independence self expression and who regard wives and mothers as dependent upon men representing thus a typical confusion of ideas

Let us get the sexual relationships straight. It seems that a woman when she becomes a mother never thinks of her position as dependent on the pleasure of her husband It is only when she ceases to be a mother that she feels her utter dependence There was a time even in the West when motherhood and bearing and rearing children were not despised by society or by the women themselves A mother seems to fit in with her position a very highly honoured position in the family To bring a child into the world and lead him and guide him with her mother s wisdom into manhood is enough work for any human being in a sane minded society Why she should be regarded as dependent on man either socially or economically because she can do this noble work and do it better than man is a notion that is difficult to grasp There are talented women as there are talented men but their number is actually less than democracy would have us believe For these women self-expression has a more important meaning than just bearing children But for the common people whose number is legion let the men earn bread to feed the family and let the women bear children As for their self expression I have seen selfish mean little wights blossom forth into gentle all loving and self sacrificing mothers who are models of perfection and virtue in their children s eyes I have also seen beautiful girls who do not marry and who shrivel up in their thirties and never reach that second period of woman s beauty glorious like the autumn forest more mature more human and more radiant best seen in a happy wife three months after her confinement

Of all the rights of women the greatest is to be a mother Confucius spoke of the ideal society as the

one in which there were no unmarried men or women and this in China has been achieved through a different conception of romance and marriage In Chinese eyes the great sin of Western society is the large number of unmarried women who through no fault of their own except the foolish belief in such a real being as Prince Charming are unable to express themselves Many of them are great as teachers or actresses but they would be still greater as mothers By falling in love and marrying perhaps an unworthy husband a woman may fall into nature s trap whose sole concern is for her to propagate the race but she also may be rewarded by nature with a curly headed child her triumph and her delight more surprising than the greatest book she has ever written and saturating her with more real happiness than the moment of her greatest triumph on the stage Isadora Duncan was honest enough to confess this If nature is cruel nature is fair To the common women as to the talented ones she gives this comfort For the joys of motherhood are enjoyed by the clever women and the common ones So nature has ordained and so let men and women live

IV Education of Our Daughters

The different ideal of womanhood in China involved a different training for our daughters The training for girls differs or used to differ radically from that for boys It was much more severe for girls than for boys and coupled with the general earlier maturity of women girls learned this family discipline earlier and were consequently soberer and better behaved than boys of the same age The girl in any case had less of a childhood than the boy and from the age of fourteen she began to seclude herself and learn the manners of womanliness for the Chinese conception emphasizes the womanly woman She rises earlier than her brothers dresses more neatly than they helps in the kitchen and often helps to feed

her younger brothers She plays with fewer toys does more work talks more quietly walks about more delicately and sits more properly with her legs close together She learns above all demureness at the cost of sprightliness Something of the childish fun and tomfoolery goes out of her and she does not laugh but only smiles She is conscious of her virginity and virginity in old China was a possession more precious than all the learning of the world She does not easily let strangers see her although she often peeps from behind the partitions She cultivates the charm of mystery and distance and the more she is secluded the more she is worth Actually in a man s mind a lady shut up in a medieval castle is more enchanting than a girl you daily see face to face across the lunch counter She learns embroidery and with her young eyes and adroit fingers she does excellent work and gets along much faster than she would in trigonometry The embroidery is pleasant because it gives her time to dream and youth always dreams Thus she is prepared for the responsibilities of wifehood and motherhood

In educated families the girls learned also to read and to write There have always been talented women in China and to day there are over half a dozen women authors who have achieved a more or less national reputation Many celebrated educated women were known in the Han Dynasty and later in the Wei and Ch in Dynasties One of these women was Hsieh Taoyun who as a conversationalist often saved her brother in law from the verbal attacks of his guests Literacy was limited in China for men and for women but scholars families always taught their daughters to read and to write The content of this literary education was necessarily limited to literature poetry history and human wisdom as absorbed from the Confucian classics The girls stopped there but really the men did not advance very much further Literature history philosophy and the wisdom of life together with some special knowledge of medi

ine or the rules of government were the sum of human nowledge The education of women was still more de cidedly humanistic The difference was in intensiveness ather than in scope

For, reversing Pope s dictum the Chinese held that too much learning was a dangerous thing for women s irtue In painting and in poetry they often layed a hand for the writing of short lyrics seemed es ecially suitable to women s genius These poems were hort dainty and exquisite not powerful Li Ch ingchao 1081 1141?) the greatest poetess of China left a hand il of immortal imperishable verse full of the sentiment f rainy nights and recaptured happiness The tradition f woman s poetry has been practically unbroken until i Manchu times we can count almost a thousand women ho left poetry in print in this dynasty alone Under ie influence of Yuan Mei the man who was against foot inding a mode was set up for women to write poetry hich was greatly deprecated by another outstanding :holar Chang Shihtsai as being detrimental to the sound leal of womanhood But writing poetry did not really iterfere with women s duties as wife and mother and i Ch ingchao was an ideal wife She was no Sappho

The Chinese girl in ancient times was actually less ocially accomplished than the Western girl but under good family breeding she had a better chance of suc ceding as wife and mother and she had no career except ie career of wife and mother The Chinese men are ow faced with the dilemma of choosing between the iodern girl and the conservative girl for a wife The ieal wife has been described as one with new knowl lge but old character The conflict of ideals (the new ne being the wife who is an independent being and who oks down upon the expression helpful wife and wise other) calls for a ruthless application of common nse While I regard the increased knowledge and edu ition as an improvement and approaching the ideal of omanhood I wager that we are not going to find as w

the silken thread a little too hard and it slips out of the needle She bites her lips and feels annoyed She is in love

That feeling of annoyance at a vague unknown something perhaps at spring and the flowers that sudden overwhelming sense of loneliness in the world is nature's sign of a girl's maturity for love and marriage With the repressions of society and social conventions a girl did her best to cover up this vague and strong yearning but subconsciously youth dreamed on Yet pre marital love was a forbidden fruit in old China open courtship was impossible and she knew that to love was to suffer For that reason she dared not let her thoughts dwell too fondly on the spring and the flowers and the butterflies which are symbols of love in ancient poetry and if she were educated she would not allow herself to spend too much time on poetry lest her emotions be touched too profoundly She kept herself busy with her home duties and guarded her feelings as sacredly as a delicate flower preserves itself from premature contact with the butterflies She wished to wait until the time should come when love would be lawful and sanctified by marriage and happy was she who escaped all entanglements of passion Yet nature sometimes conquered in spite of all human restraints For like all forbidden fruits the keenness of sexual attraction was enhanced by its rarity It was nature's law of compensation Once a girl's heart was distracted according to the Chinese theory love stopped at nothing That was actually the common belief back of the careful seclusion of women

Even in her deepest seclusion every girl generally learned about all the marriageable young men of her class in town and secretly distributed her approval and disapproval in her heart If by casual chance she met one of the approved young men even though it was only an exchange of glances more than likely she succumbed and had no more of the peace of mind of which she had been so proud Then a period of secret stolen co

ily and they might never ce each ther again Or even the young man sojourning abroad should remain faith al yet a war might come between and there might be nterminable waiting and delay For the young maiden waiting in the secluded chamber there was only sadness and longing If the girl were a real and passionate lover h became seriously lovesick (which is amazingly com mon in Chinese love stories) with all light and gladness one from her eyes and her parents alarmed at the situa ion would then begin to make inquiries and save her ife by arranging the desired marriage and so after all hey might live happily ever after

Love then was mixed with tears and sadness and long ng in Chinese thought and the effect of this seclusion of women was to introduce a plaintive languorous tone in ll Chinese love poetry Any Chinese love song after he T'ang Dynasty is invariably one of longing resigna ion and infinite sadness Often it is the song of the ecluded maiden pining for her lover or *kweiyuan* or hat of the forsaken wife *chi fu* both of which were trange to say extremely favourite topics with the male oets

Consonant with the general negative attitude toward fe Chinese songs of love are songs of absence of de arture of frustrated hopes and unquenchable longing of ain and the twilight and the empty chamber and the cold bed of solitary regret and hatred against man s iconstancy and the castaway fan in autumn of departing pring and faded blossoms and fading beauty of the ickering candlelight and winter nights and general ema iation of self pity and approaching death This mood nds its typical expression in Taiyu s poem before her pproaching death after she knew that her cousin was oing to become Paoyu s wife lines that are memorable or their infinite sadness

> This year I am burying the dropped bloss
> Next year who is going to bury me?

But sometimes the girl may be lucky and may become a helpful wife and wise mother The Chinese drama usually ends up happily with the refrain May all the lovers of the world become united in wedlock!

VI THE COURTESAN AND CONCUBINAGE

This is all very nice so far as woman goes Woman is helpful wife and wise mother She is loyal she is obedient she is always a good mother and she is instinctively chaste The trouble is with man Man sins and he must sin but every time he sins there is a woman in it

Eros who rules the world rules China also Some Western travellers have ventured the opinion that in China we find comparatively less sex repression than in the West owing to a more frank acceptance of sex in human life Havelock Ellis has noted that modern civilization has surrounded man with the greatest sexual stimulation coupled with the greatest sexual repression To an extent sexual stimulation and sexual repression are less in China But this is only half the truth The more frank acceptance of sex applies to man and not to woman whose sexual life is often repressed The clearest instance is that of Feng Hsiaoch ing who lived when Shakespeare was doing his best work (1595 1612) and who as concubine was forbidden to see her husband and was shut up in a villa in the West Lake by the jealous wife and who consequently developed the most singular case of narcissism She showed inclinations to look at her own image in the water and shortly before her death she had three successive portraits of herself made to which she burned incense and offered sacrifice in self pity Accidentally she left some verse in an amah s hands which showed poetic genius

On the other hand there is no sexual repression for men especially those of the richer class Most well known respectable scholars like the poets Su Tungp o

Ch'in Shaoyu Tu Mu and Po Chuyi went to courtesans houses or had courtesans for their concubines and frankly said so In fact to be an official and avoid dinners with female entertainers was impossible There was no opprobrium attached to it Through the Ming and Manchu Periods Ch'inhuaiho the dirty creek in front of the Confucian Temple at Nanking was the scene of many a love romance The proximity to the Confucian Temple was appropriate and logical because it was the place of the official examinations where scholars gathered for the examinations and celebrated their success or consoled their failures in the company of women To this day some editors of small papers still frankly detail their adventures in sing song houses and poets and scholars have written so profusely about the sing song tradition that the name of Ch'inhuaiho has been intimately associated with Chinese literary history

It is impossible to exaggerate the romantic literary musical and political importance of the courtesan in China Because men thought it improper for decent family girls to handle musical instruments which were dangerous to their virtue or to have too much literary learning which was equally subversive of their morality and but rarely encouraged painting and poetry for them they did not on that account cease to desire female company of the artistic and literary type The sing song girls cultivated these things because they did not need ignorance as a bulwark of their virtue So the scholars all went to Ch'inhuaiho There in the summer night when darkness had transformed the dirty creek into a Venetian canal they would sit in a house boat and listen to the singing of love ditties by girls in the neighbouring lantern boats passing up and down

In this atmosphere scholars sought for those *hetaeras* who could distinguish themselves from the rest either in poetry music painting or witty repartee Of such accomplished and well known *hetaeras* who flourished especially at the end of the Ming Period perhaps the

best loved by all was Tung Hsiaowan who became th mistress of Mao Pichiang To the T ang Dynasty belonged Su Hsiaohsiao whose tomb by the side of the West Lake has become the object of pilgrimage of every scholar tourist for ages Not a few were closely connected with the political destinies of the nation as in the case of Ch en Yuanyuan the beloved mistress of General Wu Sankwei Her capture by Li Tzuch eng during the latter s conquest of Peking led Wu Sankwei to enter Peking with the assistance of Manchu troops for her recovery and in this way directly contributed to the founding of the Manchu Dynasty It is noteworthy that after Wu had thus brought about the downfall of the Chinese Ming empire Ch en Yuanyuan separated from him and chose to live as a nun in a specially built monastery on Shangshan We have also the case of Li Hsiangchun who was reputed for her constancy and whose political inclinations and courage put many a man to shame by comparison She had more political chastity than many men revolutionists of to-day After her lover had been hounded out of Nanking she shut herself up and when she was forcibly brought to the home of the official in power and commanded to sing at a wine feast she improvised songs of satire in the presence of her captors who were her political enemies calling them adopted sons of the eunuch Poems and songs written by these ladies have been handed down to the present The history of Chinese intellectual women will have to be sought partly in the lives of such accomplished courtesans as Hsueh T ao Ma Hsianglan Liu Jushih and others

The courtesan supplied the need for courtship and romance which many men missed in their youth before marriage I speak of courtship advisedly because the sing song girl differing from the common prostitutes had to be courted Such was the respect for ladies in China that as we are told in the novel *Chiuweikuei* (*Nine Tailed Tortoise*) describing modern times many a man had to court a lady of supposedly easy virtue for months

and spend three or four thousand dollars before he was permitted to pass a night in her boudoir. Such a preposterous situation was possible only with the seclusion of women, but when men could not find female company and romance elsewhere, it was also perfectly natural. The man inexperienced in female company and tired of his wife, cook and sock darner, began to experience what Western men call romance before their marriage. He saw a lady who took his fancy, desired her, and began to have a feeling analogous to falling in love. The lady, being so much more experienced and accomplished, had an easy game and the man sometimes had a feeling almost of worship. It was, in fact, the one kind of courtship legitimate and proper in China.

Sometimes an actual romance developed, as with Western men and their mistresses. The story of Tung Hsiaowan and Mao Pichiang, from the difficulties of their first meeting to their short-lived, blissful wedded life, reads in no way differently from any other romance. There were romances with happy and unhappy endings. While Li Hsiangchun ended up in a monastery, Ku Hengpo and Liu Jushih ended up as *grandes dames* in rich official families, to the envy and admiration of their generation.

The courtesan, therefore, taught many Chinese romantic love, as the Chinese wife taught them a more earthly, real love. Sometimes the situation was actually confusing, and Tu Mu, who led a wild life for ten years, came back to his old wife after an awakening. Sometimes, too, the chastity of the courtesan was amazing, as in the case of Tu Shihniang. Besides, she carried on the musical tradition of the country, which without her would have died off. She was more cultivated, more independent and more at home in men's society than were the family women; in fact, she was the emancipated lady in ancient China. Her influence over high officials often gave her a measure of political influence, for sometimes it was in h[er] house that political appointments were interceded fo[r] [and] decided upon.

one another out and taking one another's place by turn in the name of monogamy seems to the women to be the better way It is the modern emancipated so called civilized way If women prefer it that way let them have it since it is they who are primarily affected by it The young and beautiful ones however will win in the battle against their own sex at the expense of the older women The problem is really so new and yet so old The marriage system will be imperfect as long as human nature is imperfect Let us therefore agree to leave the problem unsolved Perhaps only an innate sense of equity and fair play and an increased sense of parental responsibility will ever reduce the number of such cases

Of course it is useless to defend concubinage unless one is ready to defend polyandry at the same time Ku Hungming the Edinburgh M A and profuse quoter of Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold once defended concubinage by saying You have seen a tea pot with four tea cups but did you ever see a tea cup with four tea pots? The best reply to this are the words of P an Chinlien concubine of Hsimen Ch ing in *Chinp inmei* Do you ever see two spoons in the same bowl that do not knock against each other? She knew what she was talking about

VII FOOTBINDING

The nature and origin of footbinding has been greatly misunderstood Somehow it has stood as a symbol of the seclusion and suppression of women and very suitably so The great Confucian scholar Chu Hsi of the Sung Dynasty was also enthusiastic in introducing footbinding in southern Fukien as a means of spreading Chinese culture and teaching the separation of men and women But if it had been regarded only as a symbol of the suppression of women mothers would not have been so enthusiastic in binding the feet of their young daughters Actually footbinding was sexual in its nature throughout Its

origin was undoubtedly in the courts of licentious kings its popularity with men was based on the worship of women s feet and shoes as a love fetish and on the feminine gait which naturally followed and its popularity with women was based on their desire to curry men s favour

The time of origin of this institution is subject to debate which is somewhat unnecessary since it would be more proper to speak of its evolution The only proper definition of footbinding is the binding of the feet by long yards of binding cloth and the discarding of the socks and this seemed to be first definitely mentioned in connection with Nant ang Houchu in the first part of the tenth century or before the Sung Dynasty Yang Kweifei (T'ang Dynasty) still wore socks for one of her socks was picked up by her amah and shown to the public after her death at the admission rate of a hundred cash a person Rapturous praise of women s small feet and their "bow shoes had become a fashion in the T ang Dynasty The bow shoes with upturned heads like the bow of a Roman galley were the beginnings or rudimentary forms of footbinding These were used by the dancing girls of the court and in this luxurious atmosphere of female dancing and court perfume and beaded curtains and rare incense it was natural that a creative mind should have appeared and put the last finishing touch to this sensual sophistication This creative mind belonged to the ruler of Nant ang (Southern T ang a short lived dynasty) who was an exquisite poet besides One of his girls with bound feet was made to dance with light tiptoe steps on a golden lily six feet high hung all over with jewels and pearls and golden threads Thereafter the fashion was set and imitated by the public and the bound feet were euphuistically called golden lilies or fragrant lilies which enabled them to pass into poetry The word fragrant is significant for it suggests the voluptuous atmosphere of the rich Chinese whose chambers were filled with rare and fine perfume on which whole volumes have been written

as they might be moved by exquisite poetry Fang Hsien of the Manchu Dynasty wrote an entire book devoted to this art classifying the bound feet into five main divisions and eighteen types Moreover a bound foot should be (A) *Fat* (B) *Soft* and (C) *Elegant* so says Fang

> Thin feet are cold and muscular feet are hard Such feet are incurably vulgar Hence fat feet are full and smooth to the touch soft feet are gentle and pleasing to the eye and elegant feet are refined and beautiful But fatness does not depend on the flesh softness does not depend on the binding and elegance does not depend on the shoes Moreover you may judge its fatness and softness by its form *but you may appreciate its elegance only by the eye of the mind*

All those who understand the power of fashion over women will understand the persistence of this institution It is curious to note that the decree of the Manchu Emperor Kanghsi to stop footbinding among the Chinese was rescinded within a few years and Manchu girls were soon imitating Chinese girls in this fashion until Emperor Ch'ienlung issued an edict and forbade them Mothers who wanted their girls to grow up into ladies and marry into good homes had to bind their feet young as a measure of parental foresight and a bride who was praised for her small feet had a feeling analogous to filial gratitude For next to a good face a woman was immeasurably proud of her small feet as modern women are proud of their small ankles for these feet gave her an immediate distinction in any social gathering Her bound feet were painful unmercifully painful during the time of growing youth but if she had a well shaped pair it was her pride for life

This monstrous and perverse institution was condemned by at least three scholars Li Juchen (author of a feminist novel *Chinghuayuan* written in 1825) Yuan Mei (1716-1799) and Yu Chenghsieh (1775 1840) all scholars of independent minds and considerable influence But custom was not abolished until the Christian missi

the first admittance of girl students to the Peking National University in the autumn of 1919 followed by co-education in almost all colleges the continued interest taken in national politics by boy and girl students leading to the National Revolution of 1926 7 which was largely the work of the students under the combined leadership and encouragement of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and in which Chinese girls figured prominently as party workers and nurses and even as soldiers the continued position of girl Kuomintang members in the party headquarters after the founding of the government of Nanking the sudden prominence of girl civil service servants in all official bureaux of the government after 1927 the promulgation by the Nanking Government of the law entitling daughters and sons to equal inheritance the progressive disappearance of concubinage the prevalence of girls schools the great popularity of athletics for girls after 1930 and in particular swimming for girls in 1934 the vogue for nude pictures to be seen every day in newspapers and magazines the coming of Margaret Sanger to China in 1922 and the general spread of birth-control and sex education the introduction of contraceptive appliances (which alone must precipitate a revolution in ethics) the publication of weekly women s supplements in most big papers devoted to the discussion of women s problems the publication of *Sex Histories* (rather degenerating) by Chang Chingsheng a French returned student the influence of Greta Garbo Norma Shearer Mae West and Chinese movie stars and the popularity of movie magazines of which there are several the great spread of dancing cabarets which came over China about 1928 and in which the Chinese girls gave everybody a surprise by their ready adaptability the permanent wave English high heeled shoes Parisian perfumes and American silk stockings the new high slit flowing gowns the brassiere (place of the former chest binding jacket) and the piece female bathing suit

grave responsibilities will they be truly great Compared with the Western women the modern mature Chinese women are still perhaps more poised and dignified but they lack on the other hand the spontaneity and spirit of independence of their Western sisters Perhaps it is in their blood but if so let it be as it is for only by being true to their race can they be great also

Chapter Six

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

I ABSENCE OF THE SOCIAL MIND

THE Chinese are a nation of individualists They are family minded not social minded and the family mind is only a form of magnified selfishness It is curious that the word society does not exist as an idea in Chinese thought In the Confucian social and political philosophy we see a direct transition from the family *chia* to the state *kuo* as successive stages of human organization as in such sayings as When the family is orderly then the state is peaceful or Put the family in order and rule the state in peace The nearest equivalent to the notion of society is then a compound of the two words *kuochia* or state family in accordance with the rule for forming Chinese abstract terms

Public spirit" is a new term so is civic conscious ness and so is social service There are no such com modities in China To be sure there are social affairs such as weddings funerals and birthday celebrations and Buddhistic processions and annual festivals But the things which make up English and American social life viz sport politics and religion are conspicuously absent There is no church and no church community Th Chinese religiously abstain from talking politics they not cast votes and they have no club house d

politics They do not indulge in sport which binds human beings together and which is the essence of the English and American social life They play games to be sure but these games are characteristic of Chinese individualism Chinese games do not divide the players into two parties as in cricket with one team playing against the other Team work is unknown In Chinese card games each man plays for himself The Chinese like poker and do not like bridge They have always played *mahjong* which is nearer to poker than to bridge In this philosophy of *mahjong* may be seen the essence of Chinese individualism

An illustration of Chinese individualism may be seen in the organization of a Chinese newspaper The Chinese run their papers as they play their *mahjong* I have seen Chinese daily papers so edited as to require an editor in chief whose only business is to write editorials The man in charge of domestic news has his page the man in charge of international cables has his and the man in charge of city news again has his own ground These four men handle their respective departments like the four hands at a *mahjong* table each trying to guess what the others have got Each tries to make up his set and throws out the unwanted bamboo to the next man If there is too much domestic news it can conveniently flow over (without warning as far as the reader is concerned) to the page for city news and if this again has too much copy it can conveniently flow over to the murders and conflagrations There is no necessity for front page make up no selection no co ordination no subordination Each editor can retire at his own good time The scheme is simplicity itself Moreover both the editors and the readers are born individualists It is the editor s business to publish the news and the reader s business to look for it They do not interfere with one another This is the journalistic technique of some of the oldest largest and most popular daily papers in China to this day

If you ask why there is no co ordination the answer s there s no social mind For if the editor in-chief tries o initiate reforms and fire the city editor for obstruction he will run up against the family system What does he mean by interfering with other people s business? Does he mean to throw the city editor out and break his rice bowl starving all the people dependent upon him? And if the city editor s wife is the proprietor s niece can he throw him out? If the editor in-chief has any Chinese social consciousness he will not attempt such a thing and if he is a raw American returned graduate of the Mis souri School of Journalism he will soon have to get out Another man who knows Chinese social ways will get in the old scheme will go on working the readers will go on hunting for their news and the paper will go on increasing its circulation and making money

Some such psychology is hidden behind all Chinese so cial intercourse and it would be easy to multiply examples showing a lack of the social mind truly bewildering to the twentieth-century Western man I say twentieth-century man because he has received the benefits of nineteenth century humanitarianism with a broadened social out look As a typically bewildering example which is yet truly representative of Chinese thought regarding social work I quote verbally from the *Analects Fortnightly* (a magazine devoted to unconscious Chinese humour) re porting the speech of a native war lord regarding the movement for mas education The young people caught with the modern American enthusiasm for social service organized a movement for annihilating literary blind ness So saith the General therefore in a speech Stu dents ought to work at their books and not meddle with public affairs *The people do their own business and eat their own rice and you want to annihilate the people!* The persuasive argument is this the illiterate are not in terfering with you why must you interfere with th Those words so short so forceful are yet so true t they come direct and undisguised from the speaker

To a Chinese social work always looks like meddling with other people's business. A man enthusiastic for social reform or in fact for any kind of public work always looks a little bit ridiculous. We discount his sincerity. We cannot understand him. What does he mean by going out of his way to do all this work? Is he courting publicity? Why is he not loyal to his family and why does he not get official promotion and help his family first? We decide he is young or else he is a deviation from the normal human type.

There were always such deviations from type: the *haohsieh* or chivalrous men, but they were invariably of the bandit or vagabond class, unmarried bachelors with good vagabond souls willing to jump into the water to save an unknown drowning child. (Married men in China do not do that.) Or else they were married men who died penniless and made their wives and children suffer. We admire them, we love them, but we do not like to have them in the family. When we see a boy who has too much public spirit getting himself into all sorts of scrapes, we confidently predict that boy will be the death of his parents. If we can break him early enough, well and good; if not, he will go to jail and ruin the family fortune besides. But it isn't always as bad as that. If we cannot break him, he will probably run away from home and join the public-spirited brigands. That is why they are deviations.

How is such a state of things possible? The Chinese are not such heathens deep-drowned in their sins as the Christian missionaries would imagine, although here the word "heathen," with all the force of Christian contempt and condemnation, seems eminently applicable. It would be better if the missionaries tried to understand them and attack the evil from its source, for back of it is a social philosophy different from theirs. The difference is a difference of point of view. The best modern-educated Chinese still cannot understand why Western women should organize a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Ani-

mals Why bother about the dogs and why do they not stay at home and nurse their babies? We decide that *these women have no children and therefore have nothing* better to do which is probably often true The conflict is between the family mind and the social mind If one scratches deep enough one always finds the family mind at work

For the family system is the root of Chinese society from which all Chinese social characteristics derive The family system and the village system which is the family raised to a higher exponent account for all there is to explain in the Chinese social life Face favour privilege gratitude courtesy official corruption public institutions the school the guild philanthropy hospitality justice and finally the whole government of China—all spring from the family and village system all borrow from it their peculiar tenor and complexion and all find in it enlightening explanations for their peculiar characteristics For from the family system there arises the family mind and from the family mind there arise certain laws of social behaviour It will be interesting to study these and see how man behaves as a social being in the absence of a social mind

II THE FAMILY SYSTEM

There were formerly no such words as family system" as a sociological term we knew the family only as the basis of the state or rather as the basis of human society The system colours all our social life It is personal as our conception of government is personal It teaches our children the first lessons in social obligations between man and man the necessity of mutual adjustment self control courtesy a sense of duty which is very well defined a sense of obligation and gratitude toward parents and respect for elders It very nearly takes the place of religion by giving man a sense of social survival and family continuity thus satisfying man s craving for immortality

through the ancestral worship it makes the sense of immortality very vivid It breeds a sense of family honour for which it is so easy to find parallels in the West

It touches us even in very personal ways It takes the right of contracting marriage from our hands and gives it to those of our parents it makes us marry not wives but daughters in law and it makes our wives give birth not to children but to grandchildren It multiplies the obligations of the bride a hundredfold It makes it rude for a young couple to close the door of their room in the family house in the daytime and makes privacy an unknown word in China Like the radio it accustoms us to noisy weddings noisy funerals noisy suppers and noisy sleep And like the radio it benumbs our nerves and develops our good temper The Western man is like a maiden who has only herself to look after and who consequently manages to look neat and tidy while the Chinese man is like the daughter in law of a big family who has a thousand and one household obligations to attend to It therefore breeds in us soberness at an early age It keeps our young in their places It overprotects our children and it is strange how few children rebel and run away Where the parents are too self-centred and autocratic it often deprives the young man of enterprise and initiative and I consider this the most disastrous effect of the family system on Chinese character A parent s funeral interferes with a scholar s chances at the official examinations for three years and is good ground for the resignation of a cabinet minister

Family ethics interferes even with our travel and sport for the theory was developed in the *Hsiaoking* or *Classic of Filial Piety* (which every schoolboy used to memorize) that the body the hair and the skin are received from the parents and may not be injured Tsengtse the great disciple of Confucius said on his deathbed Examine my hands examine my feet which had been kept intact to return to his forefathers This already borders on a religious feeling It limits our travels for Confucius said

A man does not travel to distant places when his parents are living and if he does he must have a definite destination The best form of travel is to travel without destination and without hoping to arrive anywhere is therefore theoretically impossible The filial son does not climb high and does not tread on dangerous places There is therefore not a single filial son in the Alpine Club

In short the family system is the negation of individualism itself and it holds a man back as the reins of the jockey hold back the dashing Arabian horse Sometimes the jockey is good and then he helps the horse to win the race but sometimes he is not so good Sometimes it is not a jockey that is holding the horse back but merely a refuse cart But then Chinese society has no use for fine Arabian thoroughbreds the best proof of which is that we have not produced them We murder them assassinate them hound them into the mountains or send them into the asylum We want only steady plodding draught *horses* And we get plenty of them

The Doctrine of Social Status as Confucianism has been popularly called is the social philosophy behind the family system It is the doctrine that makes for social order in China It is the principle of social structure and social control at the same time The principal idea is status or *mingfen* which gives every man and woman a definite place in society In conformity with the humanist ideal of everything in its place the social ideal is also that of every man in his place *Ming* means name and *fen* means duty Confucianism is actually known as *mingchiao* or religion of names A name is a title that gives a man his definite status in any society and defines his relationships with others Without a name or a definition of the social relationship a man would not know his *fen* or duties in that relationship and hence would not know how to behave The Confucian idea is that if every man knows his place and acts in accordance with his position social order will be ensured Of

regarded as the first of all virtues The Chinese word for culture or religion *chiao* is even derived from the word for filial piety *hsiao* being written with the sign for filial piety plus a causative radical (meaning making filial) So explains the *Hsiaoking* (*Classic of Filial Piety*)

> Confucius said The reason why the gentleman teaches filial piety is not because it is to be seen in the home and everyday life He teaches filial piety in order that man may respect all those who are fathers in the world He teaches brotherliness in the younger brother in order that man may respect all those who are elder brothers in the world He teaches the duty of the subject in order that man may respect all who are rulers in the world

Again Confucius said

> Those who love their parents dare not show hatred to others Those who respect their parents dare not show rudeness to others

In this sense he could say to T engtse his disciple

> Filial piety is the basis of virtue and the origin of culture Sit down again and let me tell you The body *and hair and skin are received from the parents* and may not be injured this is the beginning of filial piety To do the right thing and walk according to the right morals thus leaving a good name in posterity in order to glorify one s ancestors this is the culmination of filial piety Filial piety begins with serving one s parents leads to serving one s king and ends in establishing one s character

The whole moral philosophy was based on the theory of imitation in society and the theory of habit in education The method of social education was by *ing the right mental attitude* from childhood naturally at home There is nothing wrong ir only weakness was the mixing of politics

loped which coupled with economic pressure, became an irresistible force undermining rather than being undermined by any political reform movement The force is so great that repeated efforts at reform with the best of intentions have proved unsuccessful

To look at it kindly nepotism is no worse than favouritism of other sorts A minister does not place only his nephews in the ministry but he also has to place the nephews of other high officials if they are high enough who write him letters of recommendation Where is he going to place them except in sinecure posts and advisorships ? The economic pressure and the pressure of overpopulation are so keen and there are so many educated men who can write literary essays but who cannot repair a carburettor or set up a radio that every new public organ or every official assuming a new post is daily flooded with literally hundreds of letters of recommendation It is quite natural therefore that charity should begin at home For the family system must be taken as the Chinese traditional system of insurance against unemployment Every family takes care of its own unemployed and having taken care of its unemployed its next best work is to find employment for them It is better than charity because it teaches in the less lucky members a sense of independence and the members so helped in turn help other members of the family Besides the minister who robs the nation to feed the family either for the present or for the next three or four generations by amassing half a million to ten million or more dollars * is only trying to glorify his ancestors and be a good man of the family Graft or squeeze may be a public vice but is always a family virtue As all Chinese are fairly good men so as Ku Hungming says the com

* I allow myself to mention only the dead as examples. General Wang Chanyuan Governor of Hupeh was worth millions General Wu Chunsheng Governor of [illegible] was even richer holding vast tracts of realty th[illegible] difficult to estimate God alone knows how mu[illegible] of Jehol fame was worth He is still alive

monest conjugation in Chinese grammar is that of the verb to squeeze *I squeeze you squeeze he squeezes we squeeze you squeeze they squeeze* It is a regular verb

And so strange as it may seem Chinese communism breeds Chinese individualism and family defined co-operation results in general kleptomania with an altruistic tinge to it Kleptomania can go safely with the greatest personal honesty and even with philanthropy which is nothing strange even in the West The pillars of society who in China are the most photographed men in the daily papers and who easily donate a hundred thousand dollars to a university or a civic hospital are but returning the money they robbed from the people back to the people In this the East and the West are strangely alike The difference is that in the West there is always the fear of exposure whereas in the East it is taken for granted The rampant corruption of the Harding administration did after all end up in one official being brought to justice However unfair that was on him it did seem to say that graft is wrong

In China though a man may be arrested for stealing a purse he is not arrested for stealing the national treasury not even when our priceless national treasures in the National Museum of Peiping are stolen by the responsible authorities and publicly exposed For we have such a thing as the *necessity* of political corruption which follows as a logical corollary of the theory of government by gentlemen (see page 212) Confucius told us to be governed by gentlemen and we actually treat them like gentlemen without budgets reports of expenditures legislative consent of the people or prison cells for official convicts And the consequence is that their moral endowments do not quite equal the temptations put in their way and thus many of them steal

The beauty of our democracy is that the money thus robbed or stolen always seeps back to the people if not through a university then through all the people who

depend upon the official and serve him down to the house servant The servant who squeezes his master is but helping him to return the money to the people and he does it with a clear conscience The house servant has a domestic problem behind him differing in magnitude but not in nature from the domestic problem of his master

Certain social characteristics arise from the family system apart from nepotism and official corruption already mentioned They may be summed up as the lack of social discipline It defeats any form of social organization as it defeats the civil service system through nepotism It makes a man sweep the snow in front of his door and not bother about the frost on his neighbour s roof This is not so bad What is worse is that it makes a man throw his refuse outside his neighbour s door

The best illustration is the so called Chinese courtesy a very misunderstood topic Chinese courtesy cannot be defined as Emerson has defined it as the happy way of doing things So much depends on who it is you are doing things with Is he of your family or a friend of your family? The Chinese have just as much good manners toward people outside their families and friends as the Englishmen in the colonies have toward people outside their race One Englishman told me that the good thing is that we are not proud toward ourselves This seems quite sufficient for the Englishmen since ourselves make the universe The Chinese are not bad mannered toward their friends and acquaintances but beyond that limit the Chine e as a social being is positively hostile toward his neighbour be he a fellow passenger in a street car or a *neighbour at the theatre ticket office*

I have seen on a rainy day at a bus station in the inland a fellow passenger who in the mad scramble for seats found himself occupying the driver s seat and who steadfastly refused to give it up against the entreaty of the s tion officials A bit of social consciousness might told him that without the driver no one in the bus

get home but this spark of social consciousness was lacking If one analyses still further was he to blame? Why was there only one bus for about eighty passengers? The local militarist had commandeered the others for transportation purposes Where then was the social consciousness of the militarist? Where system fails and where men are forced into a mad scramble all stranded on the road thirty miles away from home on a rainy day and all anxious to get home what was the occupant of the driver s seat to expect it he gave it up? The case is therefore typical it shows the maladjustment between the natural rural courtesy of the farmers and the age of speed the political chaos which hastens individual scramble and the lack of a tradition based on a new social consciousness which must take time to grow up

This lack of social consciousness explains why all bus companies are losing money and why all mining companies have closed up It goes on in an uninterrupted series from the library regulations to the law of the land The great officials break the great laws the small officials break the small laws and the result is a total lack of social discipline and general disregard for social rules and regulations

The fact is the family system stands midway between extreme individualism and the new sense of social consciousness which in the West includes the whole society Chinese society is cut up into little family units inside which exists the greatest communistic co operation but between the units no real bond of unity exists except the state As China has stood practically alone and unchallenged even this sense of state or nationalism has not been greatly developed So family consciousness has taken the place of the social consciousness and national consciousness in the West Some form of nationalism is developing but no one need be alarmed The yellow peril can come from Japan but not from China Deep down in our instincts we want to die for our family but we do not want to die for our state None of us ever want to die for the world The propaganda of the Japa

nese militarist clique that says a nation should aggrandize itself in order to bring peace and harmony to Asia or even to the world can have no appeal to the Chinese To such appeals we are strangely superlatively heathen ishly callous To such appeals our only answer is What do you mean? We will not save the world Enough provocation there is in modern Chinese international relations to goad us and weld us into a national unity but the surprising thing is how well we resist such influences and provocations

Viewing the nation as a whole it may really seem as if we mean to carry along as we were before Travellers in 1935 in Japan and China can observe the greatest possible contrast in this respect Compare the Japanese busy and bustling reading a newspaper in the tram or in the train with a dogged face and determined chin and a cloud of imminent national disaster hanging over his brow determined that Japan must either smash the world or be smashed in the next great conflict and preparing for its coming—and the Chinese in his long gown as placid as contented as happy go lucky as if nothing could ever shake him out of his dreams You cannot go into Chinese homes eat in Chinese restaurants and walk about in Chinese streets and believe that a national or world disaster is coming The Chinese always say of themselves that their nation is like a tray of loose sands each grain being not an individual but a family On the other hand the Japanese nation is (grammatically one says the Chinese nation *are* but the Japanese nation *is*) welded together like a piece of granite Perhaps this is a good thing The next world explosion may blow up the granite but can at best but disperse the sands The sands will remain sands

IV PRIVILEGE AND EQUALITY

The Doctrine of Social Status or the ideal of man in his place cuts through the idea of eq

curious way and it is important to see this point in order to understand the whole spirit of Chinese social behaviour both good and bad The humanist temper is one emphasizing distinctions of all kinds distinctions between men and women (resulting in the seclusion of women as we have seen) between ruling authority and subjects and between the old and the young Confucianism always imagined itself as a civilizing influence going about preaching these distinctions and establishing social order It hoped to bind society together by a moral force by teaching benevolence in the rulers and submission in the ruled kindliness in the elders and respect for old age in the young friendliness in the elder brother and humility in the younger brother Instead of social equality the emphasis is rather on sharply defined differentiation or stratified equality For the Chinese word for the five cardinal relationships *lun* means equality within its class

Such a society is not without its charms and graces The respect for old age for instance is always something touching and Professor A E Ross has noted that the old man in China is a most imposing figure more dignified and good to look at than the old men in the West who are made to feel in every way that they have passed the period of their usefulness and are now gratuitously fed by their children as if they had not done their bit in bringing up the young in their prime of life! Or else these old men of the West are continually shouting to people that they are still young in spirit which of course makes them look ridiculous No well bred Chinese would gratuitously offend an old man just as no well bred Western gentleman would intentionally offend a lady Some of that fine feeling is now gone but a great part of it still remains in most Chinese families That accounts for the poise and serenity of old age China is the one country in which the old man is made to feel at ease I am sure this general respect for old age is a thousand times better than all the old age pensions in the world

On the other hand this theory of differentiated status has brought about privilege always charming to the privileged classes and until recently also to their admirers While the respect for old age is unquestionably good the respect for scholars and officialdom is both good and bad The social acclaim of the literary wrangler the first man in the imperial examinations was something to touch a mother s heart and many a maiden s too There he was mounted on a white horse personally decorated by the Emperor parading the streets as the first and cleverest scholar of the land a veritable Prince Charming for it was important too that the first scholar should look handsome Such was the glory of being a distinguished scholar and such was the glory of being a mandarin official Whenever he went out a gong sounded announcing his coming and yamen* servants cleared the way brushing the passers by away like so much dirt The yamen servants had always been invested with part of their master s power and glory What though they accidentally maimed or killed a man or two!

One cannot read old Chinese novels without coming upon such a scene We do not call it power and glory we call it glowing fire and lapping flames glorious as a conflagration The yamen servants only worry was that they might come across another train belonging to an official of higher rank (for so works the Doctrine of Status) which would dampen their fire a little or that they might unknowingly kill or maim a man who belonged to that higher official s household Then they would cry I ought to die! I ought to die! and actually they might be handed over to the higher official for whatever punishment that official deemed fit including flogging and imprisonment law or no law

Privilege of this sort was always inspiring and fascinating and it is no wonder that modern officials deprived of such outward glory are unwilling to give it up No one enjoying a privilege is not flattered by it or h

* Yamen is the headquarters of an official

pleased with it What a democratic come down to call these modern officials public servants! They may use the phrase themselves in circular telegrams but in their hearts they hate it In 1934 there still occurred a case in which the chauffeur of a high government official disobeyed the traffic signal crossed the road at a busy corner and pulling out a revolver shot off the thumb of the policeman who tried to stop him Such was the glowing flame of his official fire Yes privilege was a good thing and it is still glowing to day

Privilege is therefore the antithesis of equality and the officials are the natural enemies of democracy When ever the officials are willing to curtail their class privilege enjoy less freedom of action and answer an impeachment by appearing at a law court China can be transformed overnight into a true democracy But not until then For if the people are free where will be the freedom of the officials and militarists? If the people have the inviolability of person where will be the freedom of the militarists to arrest editors close down the press and chop off men s heads to cure their headache?* When ever the people are disrespectful to their officials or the young speak against their parents we exclaim *Fan liao! Fan liao!* meaning that heaven and earth are overturned and the world has come to an end

The notion is very deep rooted in the Chinese mind and the evil is not confined to the officials but spreads like the roots of a banyan tree miles off Like the banyan tree too it spreads its cool shade over all who come under it We Chinese do not fight the banyan tree we try to come under its shade We do not impeach officials like the Americans or burn down the houses of the rich like the Bolsheviks We try to become their door keepers and enjoy their official umbrage

* As did General Chang Yi in my native town Changchow Fukien I can give his name because he is dead

V Social Classes

It seems clear then that actually there are only two social classes in China the yamen class who enjoyed ex traterritorial rights without consular jurisdiction long before the Europeans came to China and the non yamen class who pay the taxes and obey the law To put it a little more cruelly there are only two classes in China the top-dog and the under-dog who take turns With their cheerful fatalism the Chinese bear this scheme of things quite nobly and well There are no established social classes in China but only different families which go up and down according to the vicissitudes of fortune There are the lucky yamen families and there are the less lucky families whose sons do not preside in the yamens or whose daughters do not marry into the yamen dom And no families stand quite alone Through marriage or through acquaintance there is hardly a family in China that cannot find a distant cousin who knows the teacher of the third son of Mr Chang whose sister in law is the sister of a certain bureaucrat s wife which relationship is of extreme value when it comes to lawsuits

Yamen families may indeed well be compared again to banyan trees whose roots cross and recross each other and spread fanwise and Chinese society to a banyan tree on a hill Through a process of adjustment they all struggle for a place in the sun and they live at peace with each other Some stand at a better vantage point than others and they all protect each other— officials protect officials as the current Chinese saying goes The common people are the soil which nourishes these trees and gives them sustenance and makes them grow As Mencius said when he was defending the distinction between the gentleman and the common man Without the gentle man there would be no one to rule the common p and without the common people there would be to *feed* the gentleman Once the King of C

Confucius about government and on being told of the Doctrine of Social Status the King exclaimed Well said sir! If the king is not kingly and the subjects do no fulfil their duties as subjects *how can I be fed though there be plenty of rice in the country?* So between th sunshine from above and the sap of the earth from below the trees prosper Some trees are more vigorous than others and draw more sap from the earth and people wh sit under their shade and admire their green leaves d not know that it is the sap that does it

The officials know it however Candidates for magis tracy sitting and awaiting their chances in Peking know b heart and constant conversation which district is fat and which district is thin They too with a literar flourish speak of the national revenue as the people fat and the people s marrow The process of extrac tion of human fat and human marrow is a science com parable in diversity and ingenuity to organic chemistry A good chemist can convert beetroot into sugar and really good one can draw nitrogen and make fertilizer ou of air The Chinese officialdom have nothing to lose b comparison

The redeeming feature is the absence of caste or aris tocracy in China The yamen class is not a permanen hereditary institution like the landed aristocracy in Europe and it is impossible to identify it permanently wit any group of individuals There has been no family i China which can boast that its ancestors have neve worked for the last five hundred years like some aristo crats in France or the Habsburgs in Austria except Con fucius s family which has not worked for the last tw thousand years The descendants of the Manchu army which conquered China in 1644 may be truly said not t have worked for the last three hundred years and no with the fall of the Manchu Dynasty they still refuse t work—that is most of them They are a most interest ing case for socialists to study as showing what ca happen to a class of people fed by the nation for thre

centuries for they are the true leisure class in China But they are the exception There is no hard and fast line of distinction between the yamen and the non yamen class

The family rather than any hereditary class is the social unit These families go up and down kaleidoscopically Every man past forty has seen with his own eyes how some families rise and others go down Social democracy is maintained in the West or in China not by any constitution but as someone has pointed out by our prodigal sons Of these prodigal sons there are plenty in China who through their prodigality make the rise of a permanent rich class impossible standing thus as it were as the bulwark of democracy The civil examinations made it possible always for ambitious and able men to rise from the bottom of the scale From such examinations none were excluded except the sons of beggars or prostitutes And education was not so costly that only sons of the higher classes could afford it While learning was a privilege of the talented it was never the privilege of the rich No one was known to be seriously handicapped in his academic career by his poverty In this sense it may be said that there was equality of opportunity for all

The Chinese divide society into four classes in the following order of importance the scholars the farmers the artisans and the merchants In a primitive agricultural society in which China always remained the spirit was essentially democratic There was no class antagonism as there was no need The intercourse between these classes except as we have mentioned the yamen class was not marred by class feeling and snobbery In the best social tradition of China a rich merchant or a high official may ask a woodcutter to have a cup of tea and chat quite sociably with him perhaps with less condescension than the inmates of an English manor house speak to the farm hand * The farmers the artisans

* A striking exampl of this is contained in the sketch " Democracy in Somerset Maugham s *On a Chinese Scre*

the merchants being all part of the sap of the earth are humble quiet self respecting citizens The farmers are placed by Confucian theory at the head of these three classes for the rice conscious Chinese always know where every grain comes from and they are grateful They together with the merchants and artisans all look up to the scholars as a class entitled to privilege and extra courtesy and with the difficulty of acquiring a knowledge of the Chinese written characters this respect comes from the bottom of their hearts

VI THE MALE TRIAD

But do the scholars deserve this respect? Mental labour is decidedly higher than manual labour and the inequality really seems quite natural The conquest of the animal kingdom by mankind was based on man s greater cerebral development Through his mental development he justified his supremacy over the animal world But of course one can ask the question whether *from the animals point of view* man has the right to take away the mountain forests from the lions and tigers and rob the buffalo of the prairie The dog might agree but the wolf might think otherwise Man justified it merely by his greater cunning and the scholar in China did the same He alone knew the treasure of knowledge he alone knew history and the law and he alone knew how to murder a man by the dexterous use of one word in a legal brief Learning is so complicated that respect for it is natural He and his kind form the so called gentry class in China To continue the forest analogy the gentry are the parasites which have a way of reaching the top of the highest tree without great effort and all Chinese banyans are surrounded by such parasites In other words they can reach the trees and whisper a kind word for the sap of the earth incidentally pocketing a commission More than that they often undertake from the tree the duty of draining the sap of the earth

This is the so-called tax monopoly system which is ruining both the financial condition of the people and the national revenue itself These tax monopolies are the feeding ground of the local gentry an evil which has been greatly aggravated since the establishment of the Republic Actually a tax monopoly which is bought out from the city government at thirty thousand dollars a year yields two to three times its price The sap goes to nourish *the parasites The pity of it is that the people* are duped without any benefit to the government or to society except the fattening of the parasites own families

But the parasites are so thickly entrenched in their local ground that any new regime almost has to work with them and through them They parcel out the butchery tax the prostitution tax and the gambling tax and from what they invest in they naturally expect to get the greatest returns This idea of the greatest returns proves ruinous to the people There is no limit to their rapacity for no definition of the greatest is possible And with their professional knowledge they can invent *new taxes Every new official has a few of these gentry* friends officially or unofficially connected with his yamen They may come for a visit and between the sippings of tea may often utter a sigh Ah! come to think of it there are at least 15 000 troughs for feeding pigs in every *hsien* and 150 000 troughs in every district of ten *hsien* A dollar per trough would net in a very handsome sum very handsome indeed Down goes another gulp of fine *lungching* tea When there are many such sighs and flashes of insight the official really begins to learn the art of extracting human fat and human marrow The official is profoundly grateful and feels half ashamed of his own *ignorance He is maturing in* the ways of the world Soon after the pig trough tax the gentry scholar discovers the coffin tax and after that the wedding sedan tax

I have always connected these scholar gentry in my thoughts with the divinely beautiful white cranes

effective all paper constitutions scorn at democracy condemn the law make a laughing stock of the people s rights violate all traffic rules and club regulations and ride roughshod over the people s home gardens If they *were tyrants or if they were ugly like the Furies* their reign might not endure so long but their voices are soft, their ways are gentle their feet tread noiselessly over the law courts and their fingers move silently expertly putting the machinery of justice out of order while they caress the judge s cheeks Yes it is immeasurably comfortable *to worship in the shrine of these pagan women* For that reason their reign will last in China for some time yet

In order to understand the conception of favour it is necessary to know the beautiful simplicity of life in which the Chinese have lived The Chinese ideal of society has always been one in which the administration is simple *and the punishments are light* A personal human touch always colours the Chinese conception of law and government The Chinese are invariably suspicious of laws and lawyers and of a highly mechanized society Their ideal is one in which people living in the heyday of peace and leisure retain a good measure of primitive simplicity In this atmosphere emerged favour and *in this atmosphere emerged that most beautiful of ancient Chinese characteristics gratitude* the counterpart of favour Of this gratitude the common people of China especially the agricultural population have still a large bellyful A farmer who has been recipient of an act of favour remembers it for life and will probably *worship you for life in the form of an inscribed wooden tablet in his private household or serve you loyally through fire and water* True the people are left without constitutional protection at the mercy of the district magistrate But if the magistrate is kind kindness is all the more keenly appreciated because it is something gratuitous There have been *thousands of cases in which the village people surrounded the departing magistrate s sedan chair* kneeling on the ground with tears of gratitude in their eyes This is the

best demonstration of Chinese gratitude and of Chinese official favour For the people know it as favour and not as justice

In such an atmosphere originated favour which came from a personal relationship between the man in power and the man in need of protection It can however take the place of justice and it often does so When a Chinese is arrested perhaps wrongly the natural tendency of his relatives is not to seek legal protection and fight it out in a law court but to find someone who knows the magistrate personally and intercede for his favour With the high regard for personal relationships and the importance attached to *face* in China the man who intercedes is always successful if his face is big enough It is always easy and infinitely less costly than a protracted lawsuit In this way a social inequality arises between the powerful the rich and the well-connected and the poor who are not so fortunately circumstanced

Some years ago there occurred in Anhui the arrest and imprisonment of two college professors for the ludicrously insignificant offence of some incautious remarks and the relatives had no better way than to go to the provincial capital and plead with the military chief of the province for favour On the other hand certain young men in the same province connected with a powerful political party were arrested in *flagrante delicto* for gambling and after being released went to the capital and demanded the dismissal of the offending police An opium house in a city on the Yangtse was searched by the police and its store of opium confiscated two years ago but on the telephone message of an influential local person the Bureau of Public Safety not only had to apologize for the slip in manners but had to send the opium back with police guards A certain dentist who had taken out a tooth for a powerful general and was therefore invested for life with part of the latter s personal glory was asked for on the phone by the operator of a certain ministry by his personal name and surname and not by

are told in the novel *Julinwaishih* one gentry scholar from the city asks him to come and stay in his mansion another comes to exchange certificates of sworn brother hood with him a third rich merchant presents him with rolls of silk and bags of silver and the city magistrate himself sends him two maid servants and a cook to relieve his peasant wife of her kitchen labour The butcher moves into the new mansion in the city happy of heart forgetting how he had always bullied his son in law says he has always believed in him and is now ready to lay down the butcher s knife and be fed by him for life When this happens his day has come We envy him but we do not call it unfair For we call it fate or his luck

Fatalism is not only a Chinese mental habit it is part of the conscious Confucian tradition So closely related is this belief in fate connected with the Doctrine of Social Status that we have such current phrases as keep your own status and resign yourself to heaven s will and let heaven and fate have their way Confucius in relating his own spiritual progress said that at fifty he knew heaven s will At sixty nothing he heard could disturb him This doctrine of fatalism is a great source of per sonal strength and contentment and accounts for the placidity of Chinese souls As no one has all the luck all the time and as good luck cannot apparently come to all one is willing to submit to this inequality as something perfectly natural There is always a chance for ambitious and able men to rise through the imperial examinations And if through luck or through ability a man rises from the unprivileged to the privileged class then it is his turn Once in the privileged class he is in love with it a change of psychology takes place along with the change in elevation He begins to love social inequality and all its privileges and falls in love with it as Ramsay Mac Donald fell in love with Downing Street The latter went up the steps of No 10 sniffed its air and felt happy Practically this turn about face has been noticed in every modern successful Chinese revolutionist He clamps

Not to give a man face is the utmost height of rudeness and is like throwing down a gauntlet to him in the West Many officials attend between three and four dinners in a night and injure all their chances of a normal digestive system rather than make one of their intended hosts lose face Many defeated generals who ought to be beheaded or rot in prison are sent on tours of industrial or educational inspection to Europe as a price for their surrender which saves their face and which explains the periodic recrudescence of civil wars in China A whole government ministry was abolished four or five years ago in order to avoid the word dismissal and save the face of the minister who ought to have been told in plain terms to get out and perhaps get a jail sentence besides (A dismissal would make the minister lose face because there was no change of cabinet at the time) Human all too human this face of ours And yet it is the goad of ambition and can overcome the Chinese love of money It has caused a schoolteacher infinite misery because the foreign principal insisted on increasing his salary from eighteen dollars to nineteen dollars He would rather take eighteen dollars or twenty or die than be called a nineteen dollar man A father in law by refusing to ask his un worthy son in law to stay for supper and thus making him lose face is probably only wanting to make a man out of him and very possibly that solitary walk on his way back home may be the beginning of his making good

It is safer on the whole however to travel with people who have no face than with people who have too much of it Two soldiers on a Yangtse steamer insisted on having the face to go into a forbidden room containing cases of sulphur and sit on these cases and throw cigarette ends about against the entreaty of the compradore Eventually the steamer was blown up and the soldiers succeeded in saving their face but not their charred car casses This had nothing to do with ignorance or educa tion An educated Chinese general about five years ago

thought his face entitled him to overweight baggage when going up in an aeroplane at Shanghai despite the remonstrations and pleadings of the pilot Moreover he wanted to have extra face before his friends who came to see him off and ordered the pilot to circle round As he was a powerful militarist the extra face was granted But the pilot became nervous the plane refused to go up evenly it hit against a tree and eventually the general paid for his face by losing one of his legs Anybody who thinks face is good enough to compensate for overweight luggage in an aeroplane ought to lose his leg and be thankful for it

So it seems that while it is impossible to define face it is nevertheless certain that until everybody loses his face in this country China will not become a truly democratic country The people have not much face anyway The question is when will the officials be willing to lose theirs? When face is lost at the public courts then we will have safe traffic When face is lost at the law courts then we will have justice And when face is lost in the ministries and the government by face gives way to a government by law then we will have a true republic

VIII THE VILLAGE SYSTEM

In the absence of the social mind how is philanthropy possible in China and what forms have collective enterprises for public good taken? The answer is to be found in the village system which is the family raised to a higher exponent The pastoral background which developed the personal system of running National Museums also developed a village consciousness similar to the growing civic consciousness of a New Yorker or a Chicagoan From the love of the family there grew a love for the c[illegible] from the love for the clan there developed an for the land where one was born Thus a senti which may be called provincialism in *t unghsiang kuan* or the idea of being

native place This provincialism binds the people of the same village or the same district or the same province together and is responsible for the existence of district schools public granaries merchant guilds orphanages and other public foundations Fundamentally they spring from the family psychology and do not depart from the family pattern It is the family mind enlarged so as to make some measure of civic co-operation possible

In every big city on the coast or inland there are inevitably a number of provincial or district guilds like the *Anhui Guild* the *Ningpo Guild* etc Whenever there are rich merchants these guilds are always liberally endowed The *Changchuan Guild* of my native town has in Shanghai a property valued at over a million dollars It keeps a school in which our native children may study free of tuition The guilds may always serve as hotels like the Western club houses being very inexpensive and sometimes have a peculiar system of paying for board besides providing the travelling merchant with all the facilities of local guidance In the Manchu days when scholars from all over the country had to go to Peking for the triennial examinations there was not a province or district that did not have its own guild house in the capital If one could not find one s district guild one could always find a provincial guild In these guilds the scholars and candidates for magistracies stayed sometimes with their families as in permanent hotels Certain provinces like Shansi and Anhui spread a network of such guilds to enable their merchants to carry on trade all over the country

Back at home this village spirit enables the people to develop a system of communal government the only real government in China the central government being known only by its harassing yamen tax-collectors and its soldiers who always raise a hullabaloo on their official descents into the country The central government really taxed the people very little in the good old imperial days and from the villager s point of view the heaven was

high and the emperor far away Conscription for military service was unknown When the country was at peace there was neither war nor banditry and only the riffraff of society ever thought of becoming soldiers When the country was not at peace it was in any case difficult to distinguish between the soldiers of the government and the bandits of the country a distinction which is totally unnecessary In fact no such distinction is logically tenable As regards law and justice the people always fought shy of the law court ninety five per cent of village disputes being settled by the village elders To be involved in a lawsuit was *ipso facto* ignominious Good old people often boasted that they had never entered an official yamen or law court in their lifetimes So of the three most important functions of the central government tax collection maintaining peace and keeping justice very little came to bother the people According to the Chinese political philosophy that government governs best which governs least It was even so always The real government of China may be described as a village socialism And what applies to the village holds true in the general spirit for the town also

The so called village or town local government is invisible It has no visible body of authority like the mayor or councillors It is governed really morally by the elders by virtue of their great age and by the gentry by virtue of their knowledge of law and history Fundamentally it is governed by custom and usage the unwritten law In case of disputes the elders or patriarchs are invited to decide the right and wrong of the matter according as we have pointed out not to reason alone but to human nature and eternal reason combined When there are no lawyers it is always easy to find out especially among parties well known to each other and living under the same social tradition who is right and who is wrong The *absence of lawyers makes justice possible and when there* is justice there is peace in the human heart The village gentry are as a class whiter than the town gentry alt[illegible] their parasitic nature is economically determined T[illegible]

are good and upright scholars who do not make it their profession to handle lawsuits and who by their reputation for character and learning share the general respect of the villagers with the elders Under these elders and scholars the people carry on When disputes cannot be settled in this manner as in cases of crime and division of property or when two parties are determined to fight for face then they go to the yamen But it is only when both parties are prepared to ruin themselves for they avoid the yamen like a plague

The Chinese people can always govern themselves have always governed themselves If the thing called government can leave them alone they are always willing to let the government alone Give the people ten years of anarchy when the word government will never be heard and they will live peacefully together they will prosper they will cultivate deserts and turn them into orchards they will make wares and sell them all over the country and they will open up the hidden treasures of the earth on their own enterprise and initiative Opium will cease to be grown because no one forces them to and will become extinct automatically And they will have saved enough to provide against all temporary floods and famines Let there be no tax bureau with the sign board Enriching the nation and fattening the people and the nation will grow rich and the people will grow fat

IX GOVERNMENT BY GENTLEMEN

The most striking characteristic in our political life as a nation is the absence of a constitution and of the idea of civil rights This is possible only because of a different social and political philosophy which mixes morals with politics and is a philosophy of moral harmony rather than a philosophy of force A constitution presupposes that our rulers might be crooks who might abuse their power and violate our rights which we use the constitution as a weapon to defend The Chinese conception of govern

ment is the direct opposite of this supposition It is known as a parental government or government by gentle men who are supposed to look after the people s interests as parents look after their children s interests and to whom we give a free hand and in whom we place an unbounded confidence In these people s hands we place millions without asking for a report of expenditure and to these people we give unlimited official power without the thought of safeguarding ourselves We treat them like gentlemen

There could be no finer juster and more acute criticism of this government by gentlemen than what was written twenty one hundred years ago by Hanfeitse a philosopher of the legalist school (*fachia*) who lived about three centuries after Confucius As the last and also the greatest of this school he stood for a government by law instead of a government by persons His analysis of the evils of this personal government is so acute and his pictures of Chinese political life of his day are so strikingly appropri ate for modern China that he would not alter a word of it if he were speaking to us to day

According to Hanfeitse the beginning of political wis dom lies in rejecting all moral platitudes and in shunning all efforts at moral reforms I believe the sooner we stop talking about moral reforms of the people the sooner shall we be able to give China a clean government The fact that so many people persist in talking of moral re forms as a solution for political evils is a sign of the puerility of their thinking and their inability to grasp the political problems as political problems They should see that we have been talking moral platitudes continu ously for the last two thousand years without improving the country morally or giving it a cleaner and better government They should see that if moralizations would do any good China should be a paradise of saints and angels to-day I suspect that the reason why form talks are so popular especially with our because th[illegible]

Probably all our moral uplifters have a bad conscience I find that General Chang Tsungch ang and others who want to restore Confucianism and uplift others morals generally keep from five to fifteen wives and were adepts at seducing young girls We say Benevolence is a good thing and they echo True benevolence is a good thing and no harm is done anybody On the other hand I do not hear any of our officials talking about government by law because the people would reply All right we will prosecute you by law and send you to prison The earlier therefore we stop talking about morality and switch over to the subject of the strict enforcement of law the sooner we make it impossible for these officials to dodge the issue and pretend to read the Confucian classics in the foreign settlements

Briefly we may say therefore that there were two opposing conceptions of government in Hanfeitse s times as well as in our own times the Confucian conception of government by gentlemen and the legalist conception of government by law rather than by persons The Confucian system assumes every ruler to be a gentleman and proceeds to treat him like a gentleman The legalist system assumes every ruler to be a crook and proceeds to make provisions in the political system to prevent him from carrying out his crooked intentions Obviously the first is the traditional view and the second the Western view and also the view of Hanfeitse As Hanfeitse says we should not expect people to be good but we should make it impossible for them to be bad That is the moral basis of the legalist philosophy In other words instead of expecting our rulers to be gentlemen and to walk in the path of righteousness we should assume them to be potential prison inmate and devise ways and means to prevent these potential convicts from robbing the people and selling the country One can readily see that the latter system is more likely to be effective as a check for political corruption than waiting for a change of hearts in these gentlemen

In China however we have been doing the reverse Instead of assuming them to be potential crooks as we should have done long ago we assume them to be gentlemen In the good old Confucian way we expect them to be benevolent rulers and to love the people as their own sons We expect them to be honest and we say Go ahead spend what you like out of the public funds and we will not demand a public budget or a rendering of public accounts We say to our militarists Go ahead we trust you will love the people so much that we will let you tax us according to your conscience And we say to our diplomats Go ahead we have implicit faith in your patriotism and will allow you to contract any and every sort of international treaty without having to submit it to us for approval And to all our officials we say In case you turn out to be gentlemen we will erect stone *pailou* in your honour but in case you turn out to be crooks we will not put you in prison Never in other countries was there such a gentlemanly treatment of officials Now Hanfeitse says this is all wrong it is taking too many chances with their moral endowments If Hanfeitse were living to-day he would advise us to assume them to be crooks and say to them We will not exhort you to the path of righteousness and we will not erect stone *pailou* in your honour in case you turn out to be gentlemen but in case you turn out to be crooks we will send you to prison That seems to be a sounder and speedier way of putting an end to our political corruption

I quote here a passage from Hanfeitse in a rather free rendering He says You can expect generally about ten honest men in a country (which is a pretty good average) But there are on the other hand probably a hundred offices As a result you have more official positions than honest men to fill them so that you have ten honest men and ninety crooks to fill all of the positions Hence there will be more likelihood of a general misrule rather than a good government Therefore the w... believes in a system and not in personal talents in

thod and not in personal honesty Hanfeitse denied that a parental government would ever work because he pointed out even parents do not always succeed in governing their children and it would be unreasonable to expect rulers to love the people more than parents love their children Hanfeitse coldly and humorously asked how many disciples Confucius got with all his tremendous benevolence and righteousness and was not the fact that even Confucius could obtain only seventy disciples among hundreds and thousands of people a clear proof of the futility of virtue? Was it not unreasonable to expect all rulers to walk in virtue like Confucius and all their subjects to love virtue like his seventy disciples? There is a kind of pleasing cynicism dry humour and sound sense in those words

Hanfeitse's description of the ills of his country agrees to a fault with those of present day China So similar was the character of the officials and people of those days that in reading him we might easily forget that he was not de[illegible] modern China He traced the corruption of the officials and the apathy of the people of his day to the lack of legal protection to the fault of the system Instead of moralizing about it he preached that it was the system of government and the lack of public legal protection that was at fault He said all troubles lay in the lack of a public or just law He hated the Confucianists of his day and called them a pack of gabbling fools which might be fittingly applied to so many of our long gown patriots to-day He said of the officials of that time that they were encouraged in their corruption because there was no punishment for them He said in these very words Although their national territory is sacrificed their families have got rich If they succeed they will be powerful and if they fail they can retire in wealth and comfort —words that might have been written for a great part of the villadom that is living in retirement in Dairen or the Shanghai Settlements He said that because of the lack of a system 'people were promoted according to

their party connections and were obliged to divert their attention to social entertainments rather than the fulfilment of the law How true these words are to day only officials and official candidates themselves know

There was an important passage which contained the very interesting phrase *kungmin* (public citizen) and which tried to account for the general apathy and indifference of the people toward their national affairs He said in effect Now you send people to fight They will be killed whether they go forward or turn back That is dangerous for them You ask them to forsake their own private pursuits and join the military service and when they are poor those above do not pay them any attention Of course they remain poor Now who likes to be in danger and poverty? Naturally they will try to keep away from you Therefore they will mind their own business and will be interested in building their own houses and will try to avoid war By avoiding war they will have security But by practising graft and bribery they can become rich and secure themselves for life Now who would not like to be wealthy and to live in peace? And how can you prevent them from seeking peace and wealth? *This is the reason why there are so few public citizens and so many private individuals*

It is still true to-day that we have too few public citizens and too many private individuals and the reason is to be found in the lack of adequate legal protection It has nothing to do with morals The evil lies in the system When it is too dangerous for a man to be too public spirited it is natural that he should take an apathetic attitude toward national affairs and when there is no punishment for greedy and corrupt officials it is too much to ask of human nature that they should not be corrupt

Hence Hanfeitse believed in the establishment of an inviolable law which should apply to both the ruler and the ruled alike He believed that the law should be supreme that all people should be equal before the, and that this law should be applied in place of ,

preferences and connections Here we have not only a conception of equality that is almost Western but we have a type of thinking that strikes me as being most un Chinese It is strange that in contrast to the Confucianist dictum that courtesy should not be extended to the commoners and punishment should not be erved up to the lords we have here a legalist who says that we should have a law that does not fawn upon the mighty and statutes that should be applied rigidly so that wherever the law applies the clever will submit and the powerful will not protect the nobility will not be exempted from punishment and rewards will not go over the heads of the humble Hanfeitse conceived of a law before which the high and the low the clever ones and the stupid ones shall stand equal He pushed the idea of a mechanistic rule of the law so far that he believed it would not be necessary to have wise and able rulers—a mechanistic notion which is totally un Chinese

Hence the Taoistic element in his system that the king should do nothing The king should do nothing because he saw the kings could not do anything anyway as the average run of kings goes and there should be a machinery of government running so justly and perfectly that it does not matter whether we have good or bad rulers The king therefore becomes a figurehead as in the modern constitutional government The English people have a king to lay foundation stones and christen ships and knight people but it is entirely unimportant to the nation whether they have a good or bad king an intelligent king or a comparatively mediocre king The system should run of itself That in essence is the theory of do nothingism concerning the king as interpreted by Hanfeitse and practised also with great success in England

It is a queer irony of fate that the good old schoolteacher Confucius should ever be called a political thinker and that his moral molly-coddle stuff should ever be honoured with the name of a political theory The idea of a government by virtue and by benevolent rulers is so fantas

tic that it cannot deceive a college sophomore One might just as well regulate motor traffic on Broadway by trusting to the drivers spontaneous courtesy instead of by a system of *red and green lights* And any *thinking student of* Chinese history should have observed that the Chinese government *a la Confucius* with its tremendous moralizing has always been one of the most corrupt the world has ever seen The reason is not that Chinese officials are any more corrupt than Western ones The plain inexorable political and historical truth is that when you treat officials like *gentlemen* as we have been doing in China one tenth of them will be gentlemen and nine tenths of them will turn out to be crooks but when you treat them like crooks *with prisons and threats of prisons as they do* in the West considerably less than one tenth succeed in being crooks and fully nine tenths of them succeed in pre*tending that they are gentlemen As a result you have* at least the semblance of a clean government That semblance is worth having That is what China should have done long ago and that was Hanfeitse s advice two thousand years ago before he was made to quaff poison

What China needs then is not more morals but more prisons for politicians It is futile to talk of establishing a clean and irreproachable government when unclean and reproachable officials can safely book a first class berth for Yokohama or Seattle What China needs is neither *benevolence nor righteousness nor honour* but simple justice or the courage to shoot those officials who are neither benevolent nor righteous nor honourable The *only way to keep the officials clean is to threaten to shoot* them when they are caught Officials who feel hurt at my legalist view of human nature should reflect a little *whether they would be willing to invest money in a stock* company run strictly on the Confucian gentlemanly principle with no stockholders meeting no accounting no *auditing and no possibility of arresting an absconding trea*surer or manager The Chinese government was run strictly on such a gentlemanly basis What in

the present government has made are due to the influence of Westerners who have the audacity to ask for accounts from their rulers without being afraid of implying a slight on their gentlemanly honour But until that change is complete the Chinese government will always be like an unbusiness like company always profitable for the manager and staff but disheartening for the stockholders who are the common people

Chapter Seven

LITERARY LIFE

I A DISTINCTION

THE Chinese make a distinction between literature that instructs and literature that pleases or literature that is the vehicle of truth and literature that is the expres sion of emotion The distinction is easy to see the former is objective and expository while the latter is subjective and lyrical They all pretend that the former is of greater value than the latter because it improves the people s minds and uplifts society s morals From this point of view they look down upon novels and dramas as little arts unworthy to enter the Hall of Great Lite rature The only exception is poetry which they not only do not despise but cultivate and honour more inten sively and generally than in the West As a matter of fact all of them read novels and dramas on the sly and the official who writes only of benevolence and righteous ness in his essays will be found in private conversations to be quite familiar with the heroes and heroines of *Chinp inmei* (*Gold Vase Plum*) the pornographic novel *par excellence* or of *I inhua I aochien* an equally porno graphic homosexual novel

The reason for this is not far to seek The ' literature that instructs is on the whole of such low second rate

uality so full of moral platitudes and naive reasoning nd the scope of ideas is so hemmed in by the fear of eresy that the only Chinese literature that is readable literature in the Western sense including the novels ramas and poetry *i e* literature of the imagination ther than literature of ideas Scholars who were not conomists wrote about taxation literary men who did ot know how to handle a sickle wrote about agricul ire and politicians who were not engineers wrote about A Plan for Huangho Conservancy (an extremely popu r topic) In the sphere of ideas the scholars were as e say in Chinese only turning somersaults in the Con ician school and looking for cow s hair in the courts of ie Confucian temple All of them denounced Chuangtse *ie greater writer of libels against Confucianism* and all f them read Chuangtse Some of them even dared to play ith Buddhist classics but their cult of Buddhism was ilettantish and their vegetarianism half hearted The ar of heresy hung over their heads like the sword of amocles and the fear of heresy could only mean the fear f originality Literature which lives only on spontaneity as harnessed with the classical tradition of ideas The freeplay of the mind was extremely limited in scope nd the somersaults in the Confucian school however allful they might be were nothing but somersaults within ie Confucian precincts

After all a nation of scholars could not discuss bene olence and righteousness for two thousand five hundred ears without repeating themselves Actually an essay hich won the first place in the triennial imperial exami ations when rendered into plain English would stagger nglish readers by its puerility and childishness The gantic literary feat produced by the gigantic brain power ives one the impression of the antics of a flea circus . writer could therefore be original only in the sphere f novels and dramas where one could be comfo neself and where imagination could be creative

As a matter of fact all literature that is worth while that is the expression of man s soul is lyrical in origin This is true even in the literature of ideas only ideas that come straight from man s heart will survive Edward Young made this point clear as far back as 1795 in his *Conjectures on Original Composition* Ch in Shengt an a distinguished critic of the seventeenth century said repeatedly in his letters What is poetry but a voice of the heart? It can be found in women s and children s hearts and it comes to you by morning and by night The origin of literature is really as simple as that in spite of all the rhetorical and compositional technique that professors of literature try to encumber it with Ch in Shengt an also says The ancient people were not compelled to say anything but they suddenly said something purely of their own accord They spoke sometimes of events and sometimes of their own feelings and having finished what they had to say they took leave and departed The difference between literature and mere writing is only that some say it beautifully and others do not and they who say it more beautifully than others survive

The lyrical origin of literature makes it possible for us to regard literature as a reflection of man s soul and to regard a nation s literature as the reflection of man s spirit in that nation For if life may be compared to a large city a man s writing may be regarded as the window in his garret from which he views the city In reading a man s writing we but wish to look at life from his garret window and obtain a view of life as the writer sees it The stars the clouds the mountain peaks lining the horizon and the alleyways and housetops in the city are all the same but that garret view of the city is individualistic and peculiarly his own In reviewing a nation s literature we are therefore but trying to get a glimpse of life as the b s minds of that nation see it and as they express it through their own peculiar medium

II LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT

The accident of the Chinese literary medium or the Chinese language has largely determined the peculiar development of Chinese literature By comparison with the European languages it is possible to trace how much of the peculiarities of Chinese thought and literature are due simply to their possession of a so-called monosyllabic language The fact that the Chinese spoke in syllables like *ching chong chang* was appalling in consequences This monosyllabism determined the character of the Chinese writing and the character of the Chinese writing brought about the continuity of the literary heritage and therefore even influenced the conservatism of Chinese thought It was further responsible for the development of a literary language quite distinct from the spoken language This in turn made learning difficult and necessarily the privilege of a limited class Finally the monosyllabism directly influenced the development of certain peculiarities of Chinese literary style

Every nation has developed a writing most suitable to *its language Europe did not develop a writing on pic*torial principles because the phonetic structure of Indo Germanic words with its comparative profusion of consonants and infinitely variable combinations required an analytic alphabet and would make the representation of these words by pictographs hopelessly inadequate For no system of ideographs could be used alone and it was found as in the case of Chinese necessary to supplement the pictorial principle by the phonetic principle before it could have any important development These elementary pictographs were then used in combinations purely for their phonetic value and actually nine tenths of the over forty thousand characters in Chinese dictionaries are built on the principle of phonetic combination with about thirteen hundred ideographs as phonetic signs With a monosyllabic language such as the Chinese which has only about four hundred syllabic combinations (not counting

ing the tones) like *ching chiong chang* this could suffice But with a Germanic language the invention of a new symbol for every new sound combination like *Schlacht* and *Kraft* in German or *scratched scraped splash* and *scalpel* in English would be obviously an impossible task The Chinese language failed to develop a phonetic script in the Western sense because the phonetic use of ideographic symbols could suffice Had the Chinese been speaking a language with words like the German *Schlacht* and *Kraft* or the English *scratched* and *scalpel* they would have by sheer necessity invented a phonetic script long ago

The perfect adjustment between the Chinese monosyllabic language and the written characters can be easily made plain The language is characterized by a great scarcity of syllabic forms and consequently a great number of homonyms or words of the same sound The sound *pao* can mean over a dozen things a package to carry well filled in stomach a bubble etc Since the pictorial principle was limited in application to concrete things or actions and was even then necessarily complicated the original word for package was used for its purely phonetic value and borrowed to denote other words of the same sound What happened then was that there was a great deal of confusion and before the spirit was more or less fixed in the Han Dynasty we had a great number of such borrowed words indicating different things Necessity forced the Chinese to add a sign (called radical) to indicate the class of ideas which this particular *pao* was intended to refer to

The use of phonetic symbols was not too exact and hence we have the following words pronounced *pao* or *p ao* in different tones in modern Chinese all written with the original package sign (包) but each taking a class sign or radical as in [illegible] [illegible] Thus *pao* plus a hand radical means *to carry* plus a foot means *to run* plus clothes means *a gown* plus an eat means *well filled in stomach* plus water means a *bubble* plus fire means *firecrackers*

plus a fish means the name of *a fish* plus flesh means *the womb* plus stone means *a cannon* plus mouth means *to roar* plus grass means *a flower bud* plus rain means *hail* plus a knife means *to scrape* This was the adjustment to solve the problem of homonyms

But suppose the problem was not homonyms suppose the Chinese language had words like the English *scraped scratched* and *sculpel* or suppose the English people started out with a basic phonetic picture for *sc-a p* they would have been forced equally by necessity to distinguish between the sounds *cape* and *scape* or between *scape* and *scrape* or between *scrape* and *scraped* or between *scrape* and *scratch* and the result could not have been anything except an alphabet with signs to denote *s r ed(t) p ch* etc Had the Chinese done this they too would have had an alphabet and consequently have had a more wide spread literacy

Given therefore the monosyllabic character of the Chinese language it was almost inevitable that pictorial characters were used This fact alone has profoundly changed the character and position of learning in China By their very nature the Chinese characters are not subject to changes in the spoken tongue The same symbol could be read in different ways in different dialects or even languages as the sign of the Christian cross could be pronounced *cross* in English and *croix* in French This has a very close bearing on the unity of Chinese culture throughout the old empire More important than that the use of the characters made the reading of the Confucian classics possible after the lapse of a thousand years The idea that the Confucian classics could have become unreadable in the sixth century of our era is extremely intriguing and one is tempted to wonder what would have happened to the tremendous respect for Confucianism had that happened

Actually the Chinese characters underwent a great revolution at the time of the burning of books by Ch in Shihhuang and to day Confucian scholars are split

age is in point of psychological difficulties involved exactly similar to the learning of a foreign tongue for the Chinese people The laws of ordinary sentence structure differ between the literary and the spoken language so that one cannot write in the ancient language by merely substituting certain ancient words for the modern words A simple phrase like *three ounces silver* should be syntactically changed into *silver three ounces* and whereas the modern Chinese say *I never saw (it)* the ancient idiom requires the construction *I never it saw* the accusative object being regularly placed before the verb in the case of negative verbs Modern Chinese schoolboys are therefore apt to commit the same idiomatic blunders as when English schoolboys say *je vois vous* in learning French Just as in learning a foreign language a very extensive acquaintance with that language is necessary before one can really master the ordinary idioms so in the practice of writing ancient Chinese years of oral repetition and reading of masterpieces (minimum ten years) are required before one can write fairly presentable ancient Chinese And just as very few people succeed in really mastering a foreign language so in reality very few Chinese scholars succeed in writing really idiomatic ancient Chinese Actually there are only three or four Chinese to-day who can write idiomatic Chinese of the classic Chou Dynasty Most of us have to put up with that bookish sort of language which foreigners command easily enough but which lacks the true flavour of the mother tongue

The use of the Chinese characters made this development possible Moreover the independence of character from sound greatly accelerated its monosyllabic quality Actually bisyllabic words in the spoken language can be represented by a monosyllabic character because the character itself by its composition makes the meaning already quite clear Thus in the spoken language we require a bisyllabic *lao hu* (old tiger) to distinguish it aurally from a dozen other *hu*s but in writing the

character *hu* alone is sufficient The literary language is therefore much more monosyllabic than the spoken language since its basis is visual and not aural

From this extreme monosyllabism then developed an extreme terseness of style which cannot be imitated in the spoken language without the risk of unintelligibility but which is the characteristic beauty of Chinese literature Thus in China we have a metre of exactly seven syllables to each line as the standard metre saying probably as much as two lines of English blank verse a feat which is inconceivable in the English language or in any spoken language Whether in prose or in verse this economy of words produced a style where each word or syllable is carefully weighed to its finest nuance in sound value and is surcharged as it were with meaning As ith meticulous poets Chinese writers are careful in the use of a syllable A real mastery of this clean cut style therefore means extreme mastery in the choice of words Hence arose a literary tradition for mincing words which later became a social tradition and finally a mental habit of the Chinese

The consequent difficulty of this literary craft caused the limitation of literacy in China which needs no elaboration The limitation of literacy in turn changed the whole organization of Chinese society and the whole complexion of Chinese culture and one sometimes wonders whether the Chinese people as a whole would be so docile and so respectful to their superiors had they spoken an inflexional language and consequently used an alphabetic language I sometimes feel that had the Chinese managed to retain a few more final or initial consonants in their language not only would they have shaken the authority of Confucius to its foundations but very possibly would have long ago torn down the political structure and with the general spread of knowledge and given the millenniums of leisure would have forged ahead in other lines and given the world a few more inventions like printing and

gunpowder which would have likewise affected the history of human civilization on this planet

III Scholarship

Before we pass on to the non-classical literature or literature of the imagination achieved by obscure or unknown writers who broke through the classical tradition and wrote out of the gladness of their hearts and for the sheer delight of creation—in other words before we pass on to those novels and dramas which constitute literature *par excellence* in the Western sense it is perhaps proper to examine the content of classical literature the qualities of Chinese scholarship and the life and education of that mass of educated men who feed on the people moralize a lot and create nothing What do these scholars write and what is their mental occupation?

China is a land of scholars where scholars are the ruling class and in times of peace at least the worship of scholarship has always been sedulously cultivated This worship of scholarship has taken the form of a popular superstition that no paper bearing writing should be thrown about or used for indecent purposes but should be collected and burned at schools or temples In times of war the story is slightly different for soldiers used to go into a scholar s house and either burn old rare editions as fuel or blow their noses with them or commit them to a general conflagration Yet so stupendous was the literary activity of the nation that the more books the soldiers burned the bigger the collections of books became

In the Sui Dynasty around the year 600 the imperial dynasty already counted 370 000 volumes In the T ang Dynasty the imperial collection numbered 208 000 volumes In the year 1005 in the Sung Dynasty the first encyclopædia consisting of 1 000 volumes was compiled The next great imperial collection the *Yunglo Tatien* collected under Emperor Yunglo (1403 1424) consisted of 22 877 books in 11 995 volumes of selected rare an

cient works In the Manchu Dynasty the most statesmanlike act of Emperor Ch ienlung was to make a thorough overhauling of extant books for the ostensible purpose of preserving them but with the equally important purpose of destroying works that savoured of dissatisfaction with the alien regime and he succeeded in collecting 36 275 volumes which were preserved originally in seven sets in the well known *Ssuk u Ch uanshu* But he also succeeded in ordering the complete or partial destruction of about 2 000 books involving about a score of cases of dismissal from office imprisonment flogging or death of the authors sometimes including the destruction of their ancestral temples and the selling of their family as slaves—all this because of the misuse of a word The figures of both the *Yunglo Tatien* and the *Ssuk u Ch uanshu* represented a selection of works worthy of preservation according to the orthodox standards There was a slightly higher number of works which received honourable mention with a brief description in the catalogue but these were not collected in the *Ssuk u Ch uanshu* for perpetuation These of course did not include the truly creative works like *All Men Are Brothers* or the *Red Chamber Dream* although they included a tremendous amount of *pichi* or notebooks on odds and ends from historical researches to notes on tea leaves and famous springs and sketches of foxes water spirits and chaste widows which were the delight of the Chinese scholars

What then did these books talk about? A review of the orthodox classification system of Chinese libraries handed down from the *Ssuk u Ch uanshu* would be of interest Chinese books are classified into the four big divisions (*a*) Classics (*b*) History (*c*) Philosophy and (*d*) Collected Works or Literature The Classics Division includes the classics and classic philology which waste the greater part of Chinese scholars time The History Division includes dynastic histories special histories biography miscellaneous records geography (including travel sketches and local history of districts or famous

mountains) civil service system laws and statutes biblio graphy and historical criticism The *Philosophy Division* originally borrowed its name from the schools of philo sophy of the Chou Dynasty but was made to include all the special arts and sciences of China (as in the Faculty of Philosophy of a Western university) including mili tary science agriculture medicine astronomy astrology necromancy fortune telling boxing calligraphy painting music house decoration cuisine botany biology Con fucianism Buddhism Taoism reference works and a host of the above mentioned notebooks containing a wilder ness of promiscuous unshifted unscrutinized and un classified data on all phenomena of the universe with a preference for the weird and the supernatural In popular bookshops the novels are also included in this division The Collected Works Division may be called the Litera ture Division because it includes the collected works of scholars literary criticism and special collections of poetry and drama

The array of sciences is more imposing than an exami nation of their contents would show Actually there are no special sciences in China outside the serious sciences of classic philology and history which are truly branches of exact classified knowledge and which provide fields for painstaking research Astronomy apart from the works of Jesuit disciples is very near astrology and zoology and botany are very near *cuisine* since so many of the animals and fruits and vegetables are eatable Medicine usually occupies the same shelf in ordinary book stores as nec romancy and fortune telling Psychology sociology engineering and political economy are hidden all over among the notebooks and writers whose books get into the classification of botany and zoology in the Philosophy Division or Miscellaneous Records in the History Division achieve that distinction by the more specialized nature of their notes but with the exception of outstanding works do not essentially depart from the notebooks in the Litera ture Division in spirit and technique

Chinese scholars have briefly three lines in which to develop their peculiar genius real scholarly research political candidacy and literature in the classical sense and we may accordingly classify Chinese scholars into the three types scholars the gentry and writers The training for the scholar and the candidate of official examinations is so different that there must be an early choice between the two There was a *chujen* or candidate of the second rank who had never heard of *Kungyangchuan* one of the Thirteen Confucian Classics and there were many learned scholars who for their life could not have written an eight legged essay to pass the official examinations

But the spirit of old Chinese scholarship was admirable The best of the scholars corresponded to the scientist type of Europe with the same scientific devotion to learning and capacity for drudgery although often without the scientific technique and their works lacked the Western lucidity of style and cogent reasoning For old Chinese scholarship meant immense drudgery a prodigious learning and an almost superhuman memory made possible only by a lifelong devotion to learning There were scholars who could repeat Ssuma Ch ien s voluminous *History* from beginning to end for without an index system man had to trust to his store of memory In fact easily located knowledge which could be found in any encyclopædia was rather looked down upon and good scholars did not need encyclopædias We had many such walking encyclopædias in flesh and blood And after all when it came to digging up original sources it did not matter in the old scheme of life whether one found them at a moment s notice or after wasting a whole day The English nobility used to spend a whole day on a fox hunt and did not enjoy it the less and Chinese scholars found the same excitement in scenting their game the same disappointment after finding a red herring and the same joy when they had tracked the fox to its lair In this spirit monumental works were produced by individual scholars

like the encyclopædias of Ma Tuanlin or Cheng Ch iao or the etymological dictionary of Chu Chunsheng or the *Shuowe i* Commentary of Tuan Yuts ai In the beginning of the Manchu Period the scholar Ku Yenwu in his research on Chinese cultural geography used to travel with three carts of books and whenever he found discrepancies in material evidences or contradicting stories from old people from whom he collected first hand data he would check them in his books

Such quest for knowledge was in spirit no different from the labours of Western scientists There were certain fields in Chinese learning which offered an opportunity for painstaking and disciplined research Such fields were for instance the evolution of the Chinese script (*shuowen*) the history of Chinese sounds the emendation of ancient texts the restoration of lost texts from quotations the study of ancient rites customs ceremonials architecture and costumes the verification of names of animals and fishes in the classics the study of bronze stone and bone in criptions the study of foreign names in the history of the Mongol Dynasty Others had as their hobbies the ancient non Confucian philosophers the Yuan dramas the *Book of Changes* (*Yiking*) Sung philosophy (*lihsueh*) history of Chinese painting ancient coins Chinese Turkestan *the Mongol dialects etc So much depended on the* teachers with whom they came in contact and on the fashion of academic studies of the period In the middle of the Manchu regime when Chinese philologic scholarship had reached its summit there were collected in the *Huang ch ing Chingchieh* and *Shu Huangch ing Chingchieh* about four hundred works running to over a thousand volumes consisting of scholarly treatises on extremely specialized topics very similar in nature and spirit to the doctorate dissertations of modern universities only with a maturer scholarship and involving much longer years of labour one of which I know took the author thirty years

IV THE COLLEGE

But true scientists are as rare in China as they are in the West On the other hand we have as many political candidates as there are Ph D s in America men who need a rank to earn their own bread and other people s respect Perhaps the Chinese official candidates are a greater pest to society than the American Ph D s Both of them pass an examination which means no more or less than that the candidate has done a certain amount of drudgery with a mediocre intelligence both of them want the rank for purely commercial reasons and both of them have received an education which totally unfits them for anything except the handling of books and the peddling of knowledge

The Chinese Ph D s however had a distinctly official favour about them There were among them real talents who took these degrees for no earthly reason except the fun and ease of taking them and who climbed very high reaching the last stage of imperial examinations becoming a *chinshih or hanlin* These went out as magistrates or became officials in the capital The great majority of them sunk in the first or second grades called *hsiuts ai* (B A) and *chujen* (M A) respectively Still a greater majority never reached even the first grade and they were called the students or *chusheng* There were many such students (men of mature age) fed by their districts from official or municipal foundations and these swarmed in the countryside like so many unemployed

Among the first two grades or those of no grade at all the better type became schoolmasters while the worse ones became the local gentry They were amateur lawyers who handled lawsuits for a living working hand in hand with the yamen bureaucrats or bought out tax monopolies working hand in hand with the local rich They did not know anything about scholarship except that they could repeat the texts of the *Five Classics* by rote and in most cases also the official commentaries by Chu

Hsi which were for them the one and only correct interpretation of Confucian truths They could not write good poetry and their training for the official examinations was so limited in scope and the eight legged essay style they had learned was so conventional that they could not write either a correct newspaper report of events or a simple business note involving rather vulgar names of commodities in which experienced business men easily surpassed them But their power was not to be despised They had a class consciousness a class organization and a class ideology I quote in part from Ku Yenwu in his Essays on these Students written at the beginning of the Manchu regime

There must be half a million of these students in the three hundred *hsien* What they learn is writing for the examinations and not one in several tens can write decently Not one in a thousand really has mastered the classic learning and could be used by the Emperor

They are excused from official labour are free from the oppression of the bureaucrats and exempt from the punishment of flogging at court and may call on magistrates in their scholars gowns Hence many people desire to be students not necessarily for the honour of the title but for the protection of their persons and their families Taking seventy per cent as the average we have then three hundred and fifty thousand students in the country who come for such official protection

It is these students who go in and out of the yamen to interfere with the administration It is these students who rely on such power and bully the country people It is these students who make friends with the yamenites or become yamenites themselves It is these students who whenever the administration does not follow their wish bind themselves together in a row It is these students who know the secrets of the officialdom and trade with them With the slightest rebuff they cry out You are killing the scholars You are burying Confucianists The greatest trouble of a country

fair and needs clarification There are many samples of high flown rhetorical prose excellent in their way and possessing great virtuosity there are also many samples of poetic prose which by their cadence of vowels are eminently singable In fact the regular way of reading prose whether at schools or in private was to *sing* them There is really no appropriate word for this type of reading in English the so called singing is to read the lines aloud with a kind of regulated and exaggerated intonation not according to any particular tune but following more or less the tonal values of the vowels in a general tune somewhat similar to the reading of the lesson' by the dean of an Episcopalian church but with the syllables a great deal more drawn out

This type of poetic prose is especially bad in the euphuistic compositions of the fifth and sixth centuries which developed directly out of the *fu* or high flown prose used in imperial eulogies as unnatural as any court poetry and as awkward as a Prussian ballet Such euphuistic prose running in parallel constructions of alternate sentences of four and six syllables—hence called the *ssuliu* or four six style also called *pientı* or parallel style —was possible only in a dead and highly artificial language entirely cut apart from the living realities of the age But neither euphuistic prose nor poetic prose nor high flown rhetorical prose is good prose These may be called good prose only by a wrong literary standard By good prose I mean prose which has the sweep and rhythm of a good chat by the fireside such as used by the great story tellers like Defoe or Swift or Boswell Now it is clear that such prose is possible only in a living and not in an artificial language Extremely good prose there is in the non-classical literature of novels written in the spoken language but we are speaking of classical writings

The use of the literary language with its peculiarly crisp style makes this almost impossible First good prose must be able to reflect the prosaic facts of life and for this task the old literary language was unsuited

Secondly good prose must have the sweep and width of canvas for full display of its powers and the classical tradition always inclined to extreme economy of words It believed in concentration selection sublimation and re organization Good prose must not be dainty and the aim of classical prose was only to be dainty Good prose must move along with natural big strides and classical prose only moved about on bound feet where every step was an artistic gesture Good prose requires perhaps ten to thirty thousand words for a full length portrait of a character as for instance in Lytton Strachey s or Gama liel Bradford s portraits and Chinese biographical sketches always limited themselves to between two hundred and five hundred words Good prose must not have too well balanced constructions and the euphuistic prose was dis tinctly too well balanced

Above all good prose must be familiar chatty and a little personal and the Chinese literary art consi ted in concealing one s feelings and putting on an impersonal front One would expect a biography of at least five thousand words from Hou Ch aochung giving an intimate portrait of his lover Li Hsiangchun and then finds that Hou did his *Biography of Miss Li* in exactly three hundred and seventy five words written in a manner as if he were describing the virtues of his neighbour s grandmother Owing to such a tradition research on the lives of people of the past must for ever grope among sketches of three or four hundred words giving the barest beggar s outline of facts

The true fact is the literary language was entirely un suitable to discuss or narrate facts which was the reason why writers of novels had to resort to the vernacular language The *Ci ochuan* written probably in the third century B C still commanded a power for describing battles Ssuma Ch ien (140 80? B C) the greatest master of Chinese prose still kept a close touch with the language of his day and dared to incorporate words which later scholars would have sneered at as vulgar and his

language still retained a virility unmatched by any later writer in the classical language. Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27-107) still wrote good prose because he wrote more or less as he thought and was against the *precieux* style of writing. But after that good prose became almost impossible. The terseness and refinement which the literary language had come to may be seen in the following *Life of Mr. Wu Liu (Five Willows)* by T'ao Yuanming (A.D. 327-427), supposed to be a portrait of himself, in exactly one hundred and twenty-five Chinese words, and held up as a literary model:

> Mr. [Wu Liu] is a native of I don't know what place. His name and surname too are unknown. There are five willows by his house, hence the title. He is quiet and talks very little. [He] does not care for money or fame. [He] likes to read books without trying to know their exact meaning. Whenever he appreciates [a passage], he is so happy as to forget about his food. He loves wine, but, being poor, cannot always provide it. His friends and relatives know this fact and they sometimes ask him to come over for a drink. He always finishes the wine and makes up his mind to be drunk. After he gets drunk, he retires and does not mind where he finds himself. His walls are bare and do not shelter him from wind or sunshine. He wears a short jacket of flax cloth in tatters, and his rice bowl is always empty. But he does not care. He often writes to amuse himself and indicates his ambition in life, and forgets all about the worldly successes or failures. He dies like that.

That is dainty prose, but not good prose according to our definition. It is an absolute proof that the language was dead. Suppose one were compelled to read only prose of this type, where the characterization is the vaguest, the facts are the flimsiest and the narration the barest—what would happen to one's intellectual content?

This leads to a more important consideration of the intellectual content of Chinese prose works. If one picks up

any Collected Works of a writer with which Chinese libraries and book stores abound (these always forming the largest division in Chinese catalogues) and examines its contents one has the feeling of being lost in a desert of essays sketches biographies prefaces postscripts ceremonial writings official memorandums and miscellaneous notes on a most promiscuous variety of topics historical literary and supernatural A most characteristic fact is that almost all such works contain fifty per cent of poetry and all scholars are poets Remembering the fact that many of these authors have elsewhere written consecutive treatises on special topics this promiscuity is perhaps pardonable Against such kind considerations however is the fact that these essays and sketches contain the cream of the literary activity of many authors and the only literary activity of most and that they represent to the Chinese literature *par excellence* A Chinese school boy in cultivating a prose style is made to repeat a selection of these essays and sketches as his literary models

Further consider the fact that these represent the main bulk of the tremendous literary activities of a tremendous number of scholars of all ages of a tremendously literary inclined nation and one can feel only resignation or total disappointment Perhaps we are judging it by a modern standard which is foreign to it The human element is always there too human joys and sorrows and back of these works there were always men whose personal lives or social surroundings we may be interested in But being modern we cannot help judging it by the modern standard When one reads Kuei Yukuang s biographical sketch of his mother which is the work of the foremost writer of his time and leader of a literary movement and remembers that this is the highest product of a lifetime of devotion to learning and then discovers in it only a purely linguistic *craftsmanship* in imitating the ancients laid over a paucity of characterization a vacuity of facts and a baldness of sentiment one has a right to be disappointed

Good prose there is in Chinese classical literature but one will have to find it for oneself with a new standard of valuation Whether for liberation of thought and senti ment or for liberation of style one will have to find it among a class of slightly unorthodox writers with a slight tinge of heresy in them who had so much intellectual content that they must have had a natural contempt for the carcass of style Such writers are for instance Su Tungp o Yuan Chunglang Yuan Mei Li Liweng Kung Ting an all of whom were intellectual rebels and whose writings were either banned or greatly depreciated by the court critics at one time or another They had that *per sonal* style of writing or of thought which orthodox scholars regarded as friendly to radical thought and dan gerous to morality

VI LITERATURE AND POLITICS

It is natural that the bondage of language has brought with it the bondage of thought The literary language was dead so dead that it could not express an exact thought It always lost itself in vague generalities Brought up amidst such generalities with a total lack of discipline in logical reasoning Chinese scholars often displayed an extreme childishness of argument This disparity between thought and literature brought about a situation where thought and literature were regarded as having no relation with one another

This brings us to the relation between literature and politics In order to understand Chinese politics one should understand Chinese literature Perhaps one should here avoid the word literature (*wenhsueh*) and speak of *belles lettres* (*wenchang*) This worship of *belles lettres* as such has become a veritable mania in the nation This is clearest in modern public statements whether of a student body a commercial concern or a political party In issuing such public statements the first thought is how to make them nice sounding how to word them beautifully

And the first thought of a newspaper reader is whether such statements read nicely or not. Such statements almost always say nothing but almost always say it beautifully. A palpable lie is praised if it is told in good form.

This has led to a type of *belles lettres* which, when translated into English, seems extremely silly. Thus in a comparatively recent statement by an important political party we read: "Whoever violates our national sovereignty and invades our territory, we will drive them out! Whoever endangers the peace of the world, we will stop them! We are determined.... We are resolved to exert our utmost.... We must unite together.... " A modern public would refuse to accept such a statement. They would require a more exact analysis of the foreign and domestic political situation of the moment and a more detailed account of the ways and means by which they are going to "drive out" the invaders and "stop" the breakers of international peace. This literary malpractice is sometimes carried to stupid extremes, as when a commercial advertisement for silk stockings takes the form of a long five-hundred-word essay beginning with "Since the Manchurian provinces have been lost...."

That does not mean, however, that the Chinese people are simple-minded. Their literature is full of generalities, but it is not simple. Rather on the contrary, from this hedging about the problems and these vague generalities of expression there has developed, strange to say, the utmost finesse of expression. The Chinese versed in this literary training have learned to read between the lines, and it is the foreigners' inability to read between the lines, or the fault of the bad translators in missing the "meaning beyond the words" (as we say in Chinese) that causes the foreign correspondents to curse both China and themselves for their inability to make head or tail of such cleverly worded and apparently harmless public statements.

For the Chinese have developed an art of mi... words—largely due, as we have seen, to the monc...

character of the literary language—and we believe in words It is words by which we live and words which determine the victory in a political or legal struggle Chinese civil wars are always preceded by a battle of words in the form of exchange of telegrams The public assiduously read this exchange of abusiveness or of polite recriminations or even brazen faced lies and decide which has a better literary style while they appreciate fully that an ominous cloud is hanging over the horizon This is called in Chinese first politeness and then weapons The party about to revolt charges the central government with corruption and selling the country to its enemy while the central government more adroitly charges the rebelling party to co-operate for peace and for the unity of the nation because we are living in a period of national trouble etc etc while both armies move nearer and nearer the clashing line and dig deeper and deeper trenches The party that finds a better sounding etc wins in the eyes of the public The dead language therefore became a dishonest language Anything is permissible so long as you call it by the wrong name

Some instances of the Chinese literary finesse are the following When a provincial government embarked on a policy of public sale of opium it found an extremely clever war-cry of four syllables Imply banning in taxing and the discovery of that slogan alone carried the policy through as no other slogan possibly could When the Chinese government removed its capital from Nanking to Loyang following the Shanghai War it found another slogan called long term resistance In Szechuen some of the war lords forced the farmers to plant opium and had the cleverness to call it laziness tax the tax being on those farmers who are lazy enough not to plant opium Recently the same province has produced a new tax called goodwill tax i e an extra tax on top of those which are already thirty times the regular farm tax which is to bring about goodwill between the people and the soldiers by paying the soldiers and making it unneces

say for the unpaid army further to help themselves. That is why, when we are among ourselves, we laugh at the foreign devils for their simple-mindedness.

Such literary catastrophes are possible only in a nation believing in a false literary standard, and are in fact merely the result of the wrong method of teaching composition in primary schools. A modern Chinese, seeing the performance of such a literary atrocity, can only do either of two things. First, he can take the traditional view of literature and blindly regard it as pure *belles lettres*, which need have no correlation with the facts which the writing is supposed to convey—and then read between the lines. Or he must demand a closer approximation between words and thought and a new literary standard, with a language more capable of expressing man's life and thoughts. In other words, he must regard the prevalence of such verbose statements as a malpractice more of a literary than of a political origin. But he must also believe that unless such literary malpractices are weeded out, political malpractices must also follow.

VII. Literary Revolution

A literary revolution was in fact necessary, and a literary revolution came in 1917, led by Dr. Hu Shih and Ch'en Tuhsiu, advocating the use of the spoken language as the literary medium. There were other revolutions before this. Han Yu in the T'ang Dynasty had revolted against the euphuistic style of the fifth and sixth centuries and advocated the use of a simple style, bringing it back to a saner literary standard and giving us a more readable prose. But it was by going back to the early literature of the Chou Dynasty. This was still classical in point of view; it was only trying to imitate the ancients, and it was not easy. After Han Yu, literary fashions fluctuated between imitating the Chou Period and the Ch'in-Han Period, and when Han Yu himself
sufficiently ancient, the T'ang Period also bec

different times a great period itself for imitation The Sung people imitated the T'angs and the Ming and Ch'ing writers imitated the T'angs and Sungs Literary fashions became then a battle of imitations

Only as late as the end of the sixteenth century did there rise a man who said that modern people should write in the modern language showing throughout a sound historical perspective This was Yuan Chunglang together with his two brothers Yuan dared to incorporate words of ordinary intercourse and even slang words in his prose and for a time he obtained great literary vogue with a school of followers known as the Kung an school (Kung an being the name of Yuan s district) It was he too who advocated the liberation of prose from current formal and stylistic conventions It was he who said that the way of writing essays was just to take the words down as they flow from your wrist *i e* from our pen It was he who advocated a personal individualistic style believing that literature was but the expression of one s personality *hsingling* which should not be repressed

But the use of commonplace and slang words was soon frowned upon by the orthodox court critics and this author received nothing except epithets like frivolity inelegance unorthodoxy in all histories of literature Only as late as 1934 was this founder of the personal style of writing rescued from partial or total oblivion Yuan also never had the courage or the insight to advocate the use of *pehhua* or the vernacular tongue in writing It was rather the writers of popular novels who had given up all ambition to literary fame and who were forced to write in the *pehhua* to make their novels intelligible to the public that laid the true foundation of literature in the living tongue Consequently when Dr Hu Shih advocated the use of this medium he had as he repeatedly insisted the groundwork thoroughly prepared for him for nearly a thousand years by these novelists and people writing in the new medium had ready first-class models

before them Hence its complete overwhelming success in the space of three or four years

Two important changes followed the literary revolution First the cultivation of the personal familiar style of writing represented by the Chou brothers Chou Tsojen and Chou Shujen (Lusin) It is noteworthy that Chou Tsojen was greatly influenced by the school of Yuan Chunglang The second change was the so-called Europeanization of Chinese *in syntax as well as in vocabulary* as silly in the former as it is inevitable in the latter The introduction of Western terms is only natural for old terms are not adequate to represent modern concepts It began with Liang Ch ich ao in the eighteen nineties but was greatly aggravated or accelerated after 1917 With the mania for Western things this Europeanization of Chinese may well be regarded as an aggravation but the style introduced is so foreign to the Chinese language that it can not last This situation is especially bad in translations of foreign works which are as preposterous as they are unintelligible to the average Chinese reader

Actually such atrocities are perpetrated by translators for no other reason than their insufficient mastery of the foreign language which forces them to translate word by word without sensing the total concept of the phrase (*Notre Dame de Paris* has actually been translated as My Parisian Wife) Imagine also the grotesqueness of translating long English relative clauses following their antecedents into Chinese with the relative clauses (which do not exist in Chinese) changed into a long string of modifiers extending over several lines before coming to the word they modify Certain changes are evident improvements like the introduction of the loose construction Whereas it was impossible to put an *if* clause behind the main clause (*I shan t go if it rains*) it is now possible to do so This makes the prose so much more supple a flexible

Chinese prose has a great future before time rival any national language in ex

The best modern English prose is distinguished by a healthy mixture of concrete words of imagery taken from the homely English language and words of more exact definition and literary meaning taken from the Romanic heritage A written language which considers such expressions as a *nose* for news the *cobwebs* of knowledge the *drift* of language riding on the *tide* of success and Lloyd George s *flirtations* with the Conservative Party as good standard English must remain a virile literary medium A false literary standard which weeds out the words *nose cobwebs drift tide* etc and enforces substitutes like *appreciation accumulations tendency forward movement* must at once lose this virility The two components concrete and abstract words exist in great richness in the Chinese language Its basic structure is concrete throughout like the Anglo Saxon words and the literary heritage of the classical literature has left behind a vocabulary more stylistic and refined in meaning which corresponds to the Romanic terminology in English From the mixture of these two elements in the hands of a true literary craftsman there will yet emerge a prose of the greatest power and beauty

VIII Poetry

It seems fair to say that poetry has entered more into the fabric of our life than it has in the West and is not regarded with that amused indifference which seems quite general in a Western society As I have already mentioned all Chinese scholars are poets or pretend to be and fifty per cent of the contents of a scholar s collected works usually consists of poetry The Chinese imperial examinations ever since the T ang Period have always included the composition of poems among the important tests of literary ability Even parents who had talented daughters to give away and sometimes the talented girls themselves often chose their bridegrooms on the strength of a few lines of really good poetry Captives often regained their

freedom or received extra courtesy by their ability to write two or three verses which appealed to the men in power For poetry is regarded as the highest literary accomplishment and the surest and easiest way of test ing a man s literary skill Moreover Chinese painting is closely connected with Chinese poetry being akin to it if not essentially identical with it in spirit and technique

To my mind poetry has taken over the function of reli gion in China in so far as religion is taken to mean a cleansing of man s soul a feeling for the mystery and beauty of the universe and a feeling of tenderness and compassion for one s fellowmen and the humble creatures of life Religion cannot be and should not be anything except an inspiration and a living emotion The Chinese have not found this inspiration or living emotion in their religions which to them are merely decorative patches and frills covering the seamy side of life having largely to do with sickness and death But they have found this inspiration and living emotion in poetry

Poetry has taught the Chinese a view of life which through the influence of proverbs and scrolls has per meated into society in general and given them a sense of compassion an overflowing love of nature and an atti tude of artistic acceptance of life Through its feeling for nature it has often healed the wounds in their souls and through its lesson of enjoyment of the simple li e it has kept a sane ideal for the Chinese civilization Some times it appeals to their romanticism and gives them a vicarious emotional uplift from the humdrum workaday world and sometimes it appeals to their feeling of sad ness resignation and restraint and cleanses the heart through the artistic reflection of sorrow It teaches them to listen with enjoyment to the sound of raindrops on banana leaves to admire the chimney smoke of cottages rising and mingling with the evening clouds nestling on a hill side to be tender toward the white lilies on the country path and to hear in the song of the cuckoo the longing of a traveller for his mother at home It gives them a

kind thought for the poor tea picking girl or for the mulberry maiden for the secluded and forsaken lover for the mother whose son is far away in army service and for the common people whose lives are harassed by war Above all it teaches them a pantheistic union with nature to awake and rejoice with spring to doze off and hear time visibly flying away in the droning of the cicada in summer to feel sad with the falling autumn leaves and to look for lines of poetry in snow in winter In this sense poetry may well be called the Chinaman s religion I hardly think that without their poetry—the poetry of living habits as well as the poetry of words—the Chinese people could have survived to this day

Yet Chinese poetry would not have achieved such an important place in Chinese life without definite reasons for it First the Chinese artistic and literary genius which thinks in emotional concrete imagery and excels in the painting of atmosphere is especially suitable to the writing of poetry Their characteristic genius for contraction suggestion sublimation and concentration which unfits them for prose within the classical limits makes the writing of poetry natural and easy to them If as Bertrand Russell says in art they aim at being exquisite and in life as being reasonable ' then it is natural for them to excel in poetry Chinese poetry is dainty It is never long and never very powerful But it is eminently fitted for producing perfect gems of sentiment and for painting with a few strokes a magical scenery alive with rhythmic beauty and informed with spiritual grace

The whole tenor of Chinese thought too encourages the writing of poetry as the highest crown of the literary art Chinese education emphasizes the development of the all round man and Chinese scholarship emphasizes the unity of knowledge Very specialized sciences like archæology are few and the Chinese archæologists always remain human capable of taking an interest in their family or in the pear tree in their courtyard Poetry is exactly that type of creation which calls for man s faculty

of general synthesis in other words for man s ability to look at life as a whole Where they fail in analysis they achieve in synthesis

There is yet another important reason Poetry is essentially thought coloured with emotion and the Chinese think always with emotion and rarely with their analytical reason It is no mere accident that the Chinese regard the belly as the seat of all their scholarship and learning as may be seen in such expressions a bellyful of essays or of scholarship Now Western psychologists have proved the belly to be the seat of our emotions and as no one thinks completely without emotion I am ready to believe that we think with the belly as well as with the head The more emotional the type of thinking the more are the intestines responsible for one s thoughts What Isadora Duncan said about women s thoughts originating in the abdomen and travelling upward while men s thoughts originate in the head and travel downward is true of the Chinese This corroborates my theory about the femininity of the Chinese mind (Chapter III) Whereas we say in English that a man ransacks his brain for ideas during a composition we say in Chinese that he ransacks his dry intestines for a good line of poetry or prose The poet Su Tungpo once asked his three concubines after dinner what his belly contained The cleverest one Chaoyun replied that he had a bellyful of unseasonable thoughts The Chinese can write good poetry because they think with their intestines

Further there is a relation between Chinese language and poetry Poetry should be crisp and the Chinese language is crisp Poetry should work by suggestion and the Chinese language is full of contractions which say more than what the words mean Poetry should express ideas by concrete imagery and the Chinese language revels in word imagery Finally the Chinese language with its clear-cut tones and its lack of final consonants retains a sonorous singing quality which has no

in non tonal languages Chinese prosody is based on the balance of tonal values as English poetry is based on accent The four tones are divided into two groups the soft tones (called *p ing*) long and theoretically even but really circumflex and the hard tones (called *tseh*) which consist of acute grave and abrupt tones the last theoretically ending in *p t k s* which have disappeared in modern mandarin The Chinese ear is trained to sense the rhythm and alternation of soft and hard tones This tonal rhythm is observed even in good prose which explains the fact that Chinese prose is singable (see page 219) For anyone who has ears this tonal rhythm can be easily sensed in Ruskin s or Walter Pater s prose Observe the contrast between words ending in liquids like *l m n ng* and words ending in explosives like *p t k* in Ruskin s writings and this tonal rhythm can be easily analysed

In classical T ang poetry this alternation is quite complex as in the following regular scheme (0 standing for the soft tones and * standing for the hard tones) In reading the following say sing for 0 and *say* for * to feel the contrasting effect giving the *says* a final more or less abrupt tone

{ 1 00***00 (rhyme)
{ 2 **00**0 (rhyme)

{ 3 **000**
{ 4 00***00 (rhyme)

{ 5 00**00*
{ 6 **00**0 (rhyme)

{ 7 **000**
{ 8 00***00 (rhyme)

After the fourth syllable in each line there is a hiatus Each two lines form a couplet by themselves and the middle two couplets must be real couplets *i e* all the words in each line must be balanced against corresponding words in the other line both in tone and meaning The easiest

way to understand this sense of alternation is to imagine two interlocutors speaking to one another each speaking a line Take the first four and the last three syllables of each line as two individual units and substitute for them two English words and the result is a pattern as outlined below

(A) ah yes?
(B) but no?
(A) but yes!
(B) ah no!
(A) ah yes?
(B) but no?
(A) but yes!
(B) ah no!

Notice that the second interlocutor always tries to counter the first while the first always takes up the thread of the second in its first unit (the ahs and buts) but varies the second unit The exclamation and question marks merely serve to indicate that there are two different kinds of yeses and noes Notice that with the exception of the second unit of the first couplet all the units are properly balanced in tone

But we are more interested in the inner technique and spirit of Chinese poetry than in its prosody By what inner technique did it enter that magic realm of beauty? How did it throw a veil of charm and atmosphere over an ordinary landscape and with a few words paint a striking picture of reality surcharged with the poet s emotion? How did the poet select and eliminate his material and how did he inform it with his own spirit and make it glow with rhythmic vitality? In what way was the technique of Chinese poetry and Chinese painting really one? And why is it that Chinese poets are painters and painters poets?

The striking thing about Chinese poetry is its plastic imagination and its kinship in technique with painting This is most evident in the handling of perspective Here

the analogy between Chinese poetry and painting is al most complete Let us begin with perspective Why is it that when we read the lines of Li Po (701 762)—

> Above the man s face arise the hills
> Beside the horse s head emerge the clouds

we are presented with a picture in bold outline of a man travelling on horseback on a high mountain path? The words short and sharp and meaningless at first sight will be found with a moment s use of the imagination to give us a picture as a painter would paint it on his canvas and conceal a trick of perspective by using some objects in the *foreground* (*the man s face* and *the horse s head*) to set off the distant view Entirely apart from the poetic feeling that the man is so high up in the mountains one realizes that the scenery was looked at by the poet as if it were a piece of painting on a flat surface The reader would then see as he actually sees in paintings or snap shots that hilltops seem to rise from the man s face and the clouds nestling somewhere in the distance form a line broken by the horse s head This clearly was not possible if the poet was not on horseback and the clouds were not lying on a lower level in the distance In the end the reader has to imagine himself on horseback on a high mountain path and view the scene from the same perspec tive as the poet did

In this way and really through this trick of perspec tive these pen pictures gain a bold relief impossible with other methods It cannot be said that the Chinese poets were conscious of the theory of this technique but had in any case found the technique itself Hundreds of ex amples might be cited With this technique of perspec tive Wang Wei (699 759) probably China s greatest des criptive poet said

> In the mountains a night of rain
> And above the trees a hundred springs

Of course it requires a little effort to imagine springs on tree tops (which are the exact words in the original)

but exactly because such a perspective is so rare and can only be found when high mountain gorges forming after the previous night's rainfall a series of cascades in the distance appear above the outline of some trees in the foreground the reader gains a clear perspective other wise impossible As with the former example from Li Po the art lies in the selection of an object in the foreground to set it off against the objects in the distance like clouds cascades hilltops and the Milky Way and then painting these together *on a flat surface* Thus Liu Yuhsi (772 842) wrote

> [For an] autumn scene several dots of hills
> over the wall

The picture technique here is perfect the hilltops appearing as several dots over the wall give one a stereoscopic sense of distance from the hills In this sense we can understand Li Liweng (seventeenth century) when he says in one of his dramatic works

> First we look at the hills in the painting
> Then we look at the painting in the hills

The poet s eye is the painter s eye and painting and poetry become one

This affinity between painting and poetry is all the more natural and apparent when we consider not only their similarity of technique but also their similarity of themes and the fact that the title of a painting is often actually a line taken from some verse In any case the painter after finishing his painting usually writes a verse at the top in those vacant spaces characteristic of Chinese paintings Of this more later on when we discuss painting proper But this affinity is responsible for another point in Chinese poetry viz the impressionistic technique It is a technique which gives a series of impressions vivid and unforgettable and leaves merely a flavour an indefinable feeling behind which awakes the reader s senses but does not satisfy his understanding Chinese
is consummate

artistic restraint The poet does not try to say all he has to say His business is but to evoke a picture making a pen sketch by a few swift clear strokes

Hence arose the great school of pastoral poets specializing in landscape paintings and using the impressionistic technique Such masters in pastoral poetry are T'ao Yuanming (372 427) Hsieh Lingyun (385 433?) Wang Wei (699 759) and Wei Ingwu (740 c 830) but the technique is practically universal with Chinese poets Of Wang Wei (perhaps better known as Wang Mochieh) it is said that there is poetry in his painting and painting in his poetry because Wang was a great painter himself His *Wanch uanchi* is nothing but a collection of pastoral landscapes A poem like the following can only be written by one inspired by the spirit of Chinese painting

Amidst the mist like autumn showers
Shallow the stony rapids flow
Its sprays besprinkle one another
Up and down the egrets go

—*The Luanchia Rapids*

And here we come to the problem of suggestion Some modern Western painter has attempted the impossible by trying to paint the sound of sunshine going upstairs but the problem of artistic limitations has been partly overcome by Chinese painters by the use of suggestion really developed by the poetic art One can actually paint sounds and smell by the method of suggestion A Chinese painter would paint the sound of temple bells without showing the bells at all on the canvas but possibly by merely showing the top of a temple roof hidden among trees and the effect of the sound on men s faces Interesting is the method of Chinese poets in suggesting smell which lends itself to pictorial handling Thus a Chinese poet describing the fragrance of the open country would write

Coming back over flowers fragrant are the
horse s hoofs

Nothing would be easier than painting a flock of butter flies flitting after the horse s hoofs which is what a Chinese painter actually did By the same technique of suggestion the poet Liu Yuhsi wrote about the fragrance of a court lady

In her new dress she comes from her vermilion towers
The light of spring floods the palace which Sorrow embowers
To the court she comes and on her carved jade hair pin
Alights a dragon fly as she is counting the flowers

The lines suggest to the reader the beauty and fragrance both of the carved jade hair pin and of the lady herself a beauty and fragrance which deceived the dragon fly

From this impressionistic technique of suggestion arose that method of suggesting thought and sentiments which we call symbolic thinking The poet suggests ideas not by verbose statements but by evoking a mood which puts the reader in that train of thought Such thoughts are as indefinable as the scene which evoke them is clear and vivid Picturesque scenery is then used to suggest certain thoughts very much in the same way as certain chords in the Wagnerian operas are used to suggest the entrance of certain characters Logically there is little connection between the scenery and the man s inner thoughts but symbolically and emotionally there is a connection The method called *hsing* or evocation is as ancient as the *Book of Poetry* In T'ang poetry for instance the pas sing of a fallen dynasty is variously expressed by such symbolic method without mentioning the thoughts them selves Thus Wei Chuang sang of the past glories of Nanking in the following manner in his poem *On a Paint ing of Chinling*

The rain on the river is mist like and the grass on the banks is high
The Six Dynasties passed like a dream and forlorn birds cry

Most heartless of all are the willows of the palace walls
Even now in a three mile green lurid resplendour they lie

The scene of the three mile long willow overgrown walls was enough to remind his contemporaries of the past glories of Ch en Houchu in his most glorious days and the mention of the heartless willows strikes a contrast between human vicissitudes and nature s serenity By the same technique Po Chuyi (772 846) expressed his sadness over the past glories of T ang Minghuang and Yang Kweifei by merely drawing a picture of white haired old imperial chambermaids gossiping in a deserted palace without of course going into the details of their discourse

Here empty is the country palace empty like a dream
In loneliness and quiet the red imperial flowers gleam
Some white haired palace chambermaids are chatting

Chatting about the dead and gone Hsuanchuang regime.

In the same way Liu Yuhsi sang about the decay of the Black gown Alley which once was the home of the great Wang and Hsieh families

Now by the Red sparrow Bridge wild grasses are growing
And on the Blackgown Alley the evening sun is glowing
And the swallows which once graced the Wang and Hsieh halls
Now feed in common people s homes--without their knowing

The last and most important point is the investment of natural objects with human actions qualities and emotions not by direct personification but by cunning metaphors like idle flowers the sad wind the chafing sparrow etc The metaphors in themselves are nothing the poetry consists in the poet spreading his emotion over the scenery and compelling it by the force of his emotion to live and share his own joys and sorrows This is clearest in the above example where the three mile long gay and

green willows are referred to as heartless because they did not as they ought to remember Ch en Houchu and share the poet s feeling of poignant regret

Once when I was travelling with a poet friend our bus passed a small secluded hillside with just a single cottage with all doors closed and a solitary peach tree in full *blossom standing idly in front apparently wasting its* fragrant glory on a deserted valley I still remember the last two lines of the quatrain which my friend sketched in his notebook

> The farmer couple to the fields have gone
> And dead bored are the flowers outside its doors

What is achieved then is a poetic feeling for the peach tree supposed to be capable of being bored to death which borders on pantheism The same technique or rather attitude is extremely common in all good Chinese poetry So for instance did Li Po begin one of his best poems

> Late at twilight I passed the verdant hills
> And the mountain moon followed me home

Or in one of his best known poems *Drinking Alone under the Moon*

> A pot of wine amidst the flowers
> Alone I drink sans company
> The moon I invite as drinking friend
> And with my shadow we are three
> The moon I see she does not drink
> My shadow only follows me
> I ll keep them company a while
> For spring s the time for gayety
>
> I sing the moon she swings her head
> I dance my shadow swells and sways
> We sport together while awake
> While drunk we all go our own ways
> An eternal speechless trio then
> Till in the clouds we meet again

This is more than a metaphor it is a poetic faith of union with nature which makes life itself pulsate with human emotions

The expression of this pantheism or fellowship with nature is best illustrated in Tu Fu s *Quatrains on Sundry Moods* showing successively a humanizing of nature a tender feeling for its mishaps a sheer delight in its contact and finally a complete union with it So goes the first stanza

> I see the traveller s unwaking sorrow
> The vagabond spring s come in a clatter
> Too profusely rich are the flowers
> Too garrulous the parrots chatter

The words vagabond garrulous and chatter here indirectly invest the spring and the parrots with a human quality Then he lodges a complaint against the brutal winds of last night which bullied the peach and pear trees in his yard

> My hand planted pear trees are not orphans!
> The old man s low walls are like their house!
> But the spring wind thought fit to bully them
> Last night it broke some of their boughs!

This tender feeling for the trees is repeated in the last stanza

> Weak and tender is the willow next door
> Like a fifteen year old maiden s waist
> Who would have thought this morning that it happened
> The wind did break its longest bough its best!

Once more the willows dancing gaily before the wind are referred to as *abandonnee* and the peach blossoms which carelessly drop and float on the water wherever it might carry them are regarded as women of fickle character in the fifth stanza

> I deeply rue the passing of spring,
> And on a cane I pace the scented isle

Before the winds dance the wanton willows
And on the water the petulous petals smile

This pantheistic outlook sometimes loses itself in a sheer delight in contact with worms and flying insects as in the third stanza But we may take an example from a Sung poet Yeh Li who wrote on *A Scene in Late Spring*

Pair by pair little swallows on the bookshelves hop
Dot by dot little petals on the ink slab drop
Reading the *Book of Changes* I sit near a window
Forgetful how much longer spring will with us stop

This subjectivity of outlook coupled with an infinitely tender feeling for the birds and animals enables Tu Fu to speak of the clenching fists of white egrets resting on the sand bank and of the striking fins of jumping fish near his boat And here we see the most interesting point in Chinese poetry—the *Einfuhlung* The use of the word fists for the egrets claws is then not merely a literary metaphor for the poet has so identified himself with them that he probably feels the clenching himself and wishes his readers to share this emotional insight with him Here we do not see the scientist s minute observation of details but rather the poet s keenness which comes from love as sharp as a lover s eyes and as unfailing and correct as a mother s intuition This *Einfuhlung* this sharing of human emotions with the universe this poetic transformation of dead objects which makes the moss mount one s doorstep and the colour of grass enter one s window screen this poetic illusion for illusion it is is felt so intuitively and so constantly that it seems to constitute the very essence of Chinese poetry An analogy ceases to be an analogy but becomes a poetic truth A man must be indeed more or less intoxicated with nature to write the following lines (by Ch en Ngo) about the lotus flower suggestive of Heine

Lightly dips her green bonnet
When a zephyr past her has blown.

> Red and naked she shows herself
> When she is sure of being alone

This review of the two sides of the poetic technique regarding its treatment of scenery (*ching*) and emotion (*ch ing*) enables us to understand the spirit of Chinese poetry and its cultural value to the nation This cultural value is twofold corresponding to the broad classification of Chinese poetry into the two types (1) *haofang* poetry or poetry of romantic abandonment carefree given to a life of emotion and expressing a revolt against the restraints of society and teaching a profound love of nature and (2) *wanyueh* poetry or poetry of artistic restraint tender resigned sad and yet without anger teaching a lesson of contentment and the love of one s fellowmen especially the poor and down trodden and inculcating a hatred of war

Among the first type may be classified Ch u Yuan (343 290 B C) the pastoral poets like T'ao Yuanming Hsieh Lingyun Wang Wei Meng Haojan (689 740) the crazy monk Hanshan (around the year 900) while nearer Tu Fu are Tu Mu (803 852) Po Chuyi Yuan Chen (779 831) and the greatest poetess of China Li Ch ing chao (1081 1141?) No strict classification is of course possible but there was a third group of sentimental poets like Li Ho (Li Ch angchi 790 816) Li Shangyin (813 858) and his contemporary Wen T ingyun Ch en Houchu (ruler of Ch en 553 604) and Nalan Hsingteh (a Manchu 1655 1685) most distinguished for their love lyrics

The first type is best represented by Li Po of whom Tu Fu says

> With a jar of wine Li makes a hundred poems
> He sleeps in an inn of Ch angan city
> The Emperor sent for him and he d not move
> Saying I m the God of Wine Your Majesty!

Li Po is China s prince of vagabond poets with his drink his dread of officialdom his companionship with the

moon his love of high mountain scenery and his constant aspiration

> Oh could I but hold a celestial sword
> And stab a whale across the seas!

Li Po s romanticism ended finally in his death from reaching for the shadow of the moon in the water in a drunken fit and falling overboard Good infinitely good that the staid and apparently unfeeling Chinese could sometimes reach for the shadow of the moon and die such a poetic death!

Well it is that the Chinese had this love of nature which constituted the poetry of their existence and which overflowed from the fullness of their hearts into literature It taught the Chinese a more widespread love of birds and flowers than is usual among the common folk of other nations I have seen a Chinese crowd get excited at the sight of a bird in a cage which made them childish and good humoured again made them share a common feeling of gay irresponsibility and broke down the barriers of hostility among strangers as only an object of common delight could The worship of the pastoral life has coloured the whole Chinese culture and to day officials or scholars speak of going back to the farm as the most elegant the most refined and most sophisticated ambition *in life they can think of The vogue is so great that even* the deepest-dyed scoundrel of a politician will pretend that he has something of Li Po s romanticism in his nature Actually I suspect even he is capable of such feelings because after all he is a Chinese As a Chinese he knows how much life is worth and at midnight gazing through his window at the stars the lines he learned at childhood come back to him

> I was drunk half asleep through the whole livelong day
> Hearing spring d soon be gone I hurried on my way
> In a bamboo courtyard I chatted with a monk
> And so leisurely passed one more half day away

To him it is a prayer

The second type is best represented by Tu Fu with hi quiet humour his restraint his tenderness toward th poor and oppressed and his unconcealed hatred of wa

Well it is too that the Chinese have poets like Tu F and Po Chuyi who portray our sorrows in beauty an beget in us a sense of compassion for mankind Tu F lived in times of political chaos and banditry and soldier and famine like our own and wrote

> Meats and wines are rotting in the mansions
> And human bones are rotting outside their doors

A similar note was struck in the *Song of the Mulberry Maiden* by Hsieh Fangteh

> When cuckoos cried fourth watch in the dead of the night
> Then I rose lest the worms short of leaves hunger might
> Who d think that those dames weren t yet through with their dance?
> The pale moon shone through willows o er their windows bright

Note the peculiarly Chinese ending where instead of driving home a socialistic thought the poet contents himself with drawing a picture Even then this poem is a little too rebellious for the average Chinese poetry The usual note is one of sadness and resignation as in so many of Tu Fu s poems describing the harassing effects of war of which the following *The Bailiff of Shihhao* is a good example

> I came to Shihhao village and stayed that eve
> A bailiff came for press gang in the night
> The old man hearing this climbed o er the wall
> And the old woman saw the bailiff at the door
> Oh why was the bailiff s voice so terrible
> And why the woman s plaint so soft and low?
> I have three sons all at the Niehch eng post
> And one just wrote a letter home to say
> The other two had in the battle died

Let those who live live on as best they can
For those who've died are dead for evermore
Now in the house there's only grandson left
For him his mother still remains—without
A decent petticoat to go about
Although my strength is ebbing weak and low
I'll go with you bailiff in the front to serve
For I can cook congee for the army and
To-morrow I'll march and hurry to the Hoyang
front

So spake the woman and in the night the voice
Became so low it broke into a whimper
And in the morning with the army she went
Alone she said good bye to her old man

That is characteristic of the art of restraint and the feeling of sadness in Chinese poetry It gives a picture expresses a sentiment and leaves the rest to the reader's imagination

IX Drama

The Chinese drama occupies a mean position between classical literature and that body of literature which is *nearer what the Western people mean by the term name* ly literature of the imagination The latter including the dramas and novels was written in the *pehhua* or vernacular language and consequently was least ridden with classical standards and constantly grew and profited from that freedom Because Chinese dramatic composition happened to be largely poetry it was accepted as literature on a higher level than the novels and almost on a par with the T'ang lyrics Scholars were less ashamed to be known as writing dramatic works than writing novels On the whole the authorship of dramas was not anonymous or subject to debate like the authorship of novels

From now on we shall see how that body of imaginative literature constantly grew in beauty and importance until it compelled recognition in modern times on its

merits and exerted an influence over the people as no classical literature ever succeeded in doing

This hybrid character of the Chinese drama accounts for its peculiar composition and also for its great popular influence The Chinese drama is a combination of dialogues in the spoken language which on the whole is readily intelligible to the populace and songs which are sung and often partake of a high poetic quality Its nature is therefore entirely different from that of the conventional English play The songs come in at short intervals and are more in prominence than the spoken parts As is natural the comic plays are more in dialogue while the tragedies or dramas of human loves and sorrows more often burst out into songs Actually the theatre is attended from the point of view of the Chinese theatre goer more for its singing than for its acting One speaks of going to listen to a play rather than to see it It would seem therefore that the translation of the Chinese word *hsi* as drama is misleading and it would be more proper to speak of it as Chinese opera

Only by understanding the Chinese *hsi* as a form of opera will its wide appeal to the people as well as the peculiarities of its composition be truly understood For the appeal of the drama—especially of the modern English drama—is largely an appeal to the understanding while the opera makes a combined appeal to the senses of colour voice atmosphere and emotion The medium of the drama is the spoken language but that of the opera is music and the song A theatre goer who attends a play expects to follow a story which pleases him by its conflicts of character and its surprises and novelty of action and an opera goer is prepared to spend an evening during which his intellect is appropriately benumbed and his senses soothed by music and colour and song

This accounts for the fact that most dramatic performances are not worth attending a second time although people go to the same operas for the fiftieth time without losing the edge of their keen enjoyment Thus it is with

the Chinese theatre The so-called *chinghsi* (Peking plays) has a general repertoire of less than a hundred pieces which are played over and over again without losing their popularity And the people applaud by shouting *Hao!* invariably at the arias which have the most intense or intricate musical appeal Music is therefore the soul of the Chinese drama and acting is merely an accessory to the technique of the opera singer and remains on essentially the same level as that of Western prima donnas

The Chinese opera goer therefore appraises the Chinese actor under the two categories of his singing (*ch ang*) and his acting (*chuo*) But this so-called acting is often purely technical and consists of certain conventional ways of expressing emotions—in the West what is to us the shockingly inartistic heaving and swelling of the prima donna s chest and in the East what is to Occidentals the ludicrous wiping of a tearless eye by a long sleeve If the actor has personal charm and beauty and a good voice this modicum of acting is always enough to satisfy the audience But when well done every gesture may be beautiful and every pose a perfect tableau In this sense the popular appreciation of Mei Lanfang by Americans is essentially correct although how much of his singing is appreciated *as* singing may be questioned One marvels at his beautiful poses and gestures his graceful white fingers his long black eyebrows his feminine gait his flirtatious side glances and the whole outfit of his fake sex appeal—the same fake sex appeal which ingratiates him with the Chinese audience and is at the back of his tremendous popularity in China When done by so great an artist this appeal is universal for it speaks the language of gestures which is international as music and dancing are international So far as real acting in the modern sense of the word is concerned Mei Lanfang may appropriately learn the A B Cs from Norma Shearer or Ruth Chatterton When he holds a whip and pretends to be riding on horseback or when he plays at

paddling a boat his acting is neither better nor worse than that of my five year old daughter who plays at horse riding by trailing a bamboo stick between her thighs

If we study the construction of the Yuan and subsequent dramas we shall find that the plot as with Western operas is often of the flimsiest character the dialogue unimportant while the songs occupy the centre of the play In actual performances very often popular selections from the operas rather than the entire plays are given in the same manner that operatic selections are rendered in Western musical concerts The audience knows the stories by heart and the characters are recognized by their conventional masks and costumes rather than by the contents of the dialogue The first Yuan dramas as we see them in extant works of the masters consisted with a few exceptions of four acts The songs in each act were sung to a definite set of tunes in a well known musical suite The dialogues were unimportant and in many existing copies they are left out which is probably because the dialogue part was largely spoken extempore

In the so-called northern dramas the songs in each act were sung by the same person although many actors took part in the acting and the spoken dialogue (a limitation probably due to the scarcity of singing talent) In the southern dramas the limitations of dramatic technique were much less rigid there was a great deal more freedom and from these dramas were evolved the longer plays which in the Ming Dynasty were known as *ch'uanch'i* The number of acts (corresponding in length to the scenes in English plays) was no longer limited to four different rhymes could be used in songs of the same act several singers could sing in alternation or in unison in the same act and the tunes themselves were different from those used in the northern dramas being of the type which gives long modulations over single syllables

Of such dramas the *Western Chamber* (*Hsihsiang*) and *Autumn in the Han Palace* (*Hankungch'iu* portray

ing the story of the exiled imperial concubine Chao Chun) may be taken as representative of the northern dramas while the *Moon Pavilion* (*Paiyueh t ing*) and the *Romance of the Guitar* (*P ip achi*) may be taken as representative of the southern dramas The *Western Chamber* although consisting of twenty acts was strictly in the nature of a dramatic sequence of five plays with four acts in each

There is one difference between Chinese and Western opera While in the West the opera is the privilege of the classes very often attended for its social glitter and out of an opera complex rather than for real musical appreciation so far as the occupants of the golden horse shoe are concerned the Chinese operas are the mental food of the poor Deeper than any other literary art the operas have gone down to the hearts of the people Imagine a people whose masses know the airs of *Tannhauser* and *Tristan und Isolde* and *Pinafore* by heart gaily singing them in the streets and at all odd moments and you have a picture of the relation between Chinese operas and the Chinese masses There is a type of mania in China unknown in the West called *hsimi* or opera mania and one may often see a maniac of the lower class with dishevelled hair and clad in tatters singing the airs of *K ungch engchi* and acting the part of the great Chuko Liang in the streets of old Peking

Foreign visitors at Chinese theatres are often struck by the excruciating noise emanating from the gongs and drums in military plays and the equally nerve racking falsetto of male singers while the Chinese evidently cannot live without them This must on the whole be credited to Chinese nerves although the theory seems to be counter-evidenced by the apparent comfort with which Americans tolerate squeaks from the saxophone and other sound madness from the jazz band which set any Chinese gentleman s nerves on end It is possibly all a question of adaptation But the origin of the drums and gongs and the falsetto can only be understood in the light of Chinese theatre surroundings

The Chinese theatre of the better type was built in yard like the Elizabethan theatre In most cases how ever the stages consisted of temporary wooden rack built high above the ground in the open or sometime right across a thoroughfare to be taken down immediat ly after the occasion The theatre was therefore in th open and the actors had to compete with the peddler cries the barbers tuning forks the malt sugar seller small gongs the shouting of men women and childre and the barking of dogs Above such a din only a th falsetto keyed in a high pitch could have been heard anybody may verify for himself The gongs and drun were also used as a means of attracting attention the always preceded the plays and could be heard a mi away thus serving the purpose of street posters for th movies When staged in a modern theatre building th volume of noise thus produced is truly terrific but som how the Chinese have adapted themselves to it as th Americans have adapted themselves to jazz They wa noise and they want life to get a kick out of it Tin will erase all this and Chinese theatrical shows will eve tually be tamed and civilized when they are housed modern theatre buildings

From a purely literary point of view Chinese dramat works contain a type of poetry which far surpasses th T'ang lyrics in power and beauty It is my firm beli that lovely as the T'ang poetry is we have to go to th dramas and the odd dramatic songs (*hsiaotiao*) to fir some of China s greatest poetry For classical poet moves more or less along certain traditional patterns thought and style It has a cultivated super refined tec nique but it lacks grandeur and power and richness Th feeling one gets on turning from classical poetry to poe in the dramas (and Chinese dramas are essentially regar ed as has been pointed out as a collection of poem is like turning from an exquisite plum branch in a va to one s outside garden so much superior in freshne richness and variety

Chinese lyrics are dainty but never long and never very powerful By their very terseness narrative and descriptive passages are necessarily limited in character In the dramas the scope and style of poetry are different Words are used which would have been scoffed at by the court critics as vulgar Images arise and dramatic situations are presented which call for a wider range of literary power and which clearly would lie outside the province of the lyric Human emotions reach a height unattainable by the exquisite quatrains or eight lines The language itself which is the *pehhua* being free from the classical bondage achieves a freedom naturalness and virility entirely undreamed of before It is a language taken raw from the people s mouths and shaped into beauty by writers who felt themselves free of the classical standards and who relied solely on their artistic sense of sound and rhythm Some masters of the Yuan drama used a raw *patois* with an inimitable beauty of its own which defies all translation either into modern Chinese or into any foreign language It can only be suggested in the following

Muzzy dizzy lackadaisical I m squatting smug smugly
on an earthen divan
Clatter patter the old *p op o* is shaking her coarse
great big grain pan
Lousy slouchy lies the donkey under the willow his
legs sprawling
Lapping patting that coolie s hand on the donkey s
neck is pawing
Oh wake up a while!
Oh wake up a while!
Time like a bullet past a window is flying!

—*Ma Chihyuan Huangliangmeng*

Writers of dramatic poetry had to conform to the exigencies of the operatic airs but the lines were longer the insertion of extra syllables was allowed and the rhythm was broader and more suitable to the vernacular language

in which it was written The liberation of metre achieved in the Sung *tz'u* originating in songs and set to these airs already provided for a metre of irregular lengths obeying the rhythm of the spoken rather than the written language This metre was still more emancipated in the dramas As an approximate example of this irregular metre I give here an English rendering of passages in the *Western Chamber* (a masterpiece of the first order in Chinese literature) which describe the beauty of Inging the heroine

Before she spoke she had reddened
Like a cherry ripe broken
Like a statue white molten
In a moment
She'd have spoken
A string of notes sweet and golden

When she turned sideways her beauty was described in the following manner

Sideways inclining
Her jade hair pin declining
Brows *a la* palace like the new moon reclining
Into her black velvet temples resigning

When she moved it was described

Now she moves her steps cunning pretty
Her waist soft like a southern ditty
So gracefully slender
So helplessly tender
Like weeping willows before a Zephyr giddy

It is interesting to note here that rhythm as understood in Chinese dramatic poetry and in Chinese music is different from the regular rhythm in Western poetry and music There is no reason why the two fundamental metres of twos and threes should not be used in some kind of regular combination in English poetry This has been done with great success in the Sung *tz'u* and Yuan dramas producing a more modulated rhythm than the straight use of

twos or threes throughout the line The idea is worth experiment by some qualified English poets

Through its immense popularity the theatre has achieved a place in the national Chinese life very nearly corresponding to its logical place in an ideal republic Apart from teaching the people an intense love of music it has taught the Chinese people over ninety per cent of whom are illiterate a knowledge of history truly amazing crystallizing as it were the folklore and entire historical and literary tradition in plays of characters that have captured the heart and imagination of the common men and women Thus any amah has a livelier conception than I have of many historical heroes like Kuan Yu Liu Pei Ts ao Ts ao Hsueh Jenkwei Hsueh Tingshan and Yang Kweifei from her intimate knowledge of Chinese plays as I was prevented from attending the theatres in my childhood through my missionary education and had to learn it all piecemeal from the cold pages of history books Before my teens I knew Joshua s trumpets blew down the walls of Jericho but I did not know until I was about thirty that when Mengchiangnu cried over the bones of her husband who had died building the Great Wall in conscript labour the torrent of her tears washed away a section of the Great Wall This is a type of ignorance that cannot be found among the illiterate Chinese

But the theatre, besides popularizing history and music among the people has an equally important cultural function in providing the people with all their moral notions of good and evil Practically all the standardized Chinese notions of loyal ministers and filial sons and brave warriors and faithful wives and chaste maidens and intriguing maid servants are reflected in the current Chinese plays Represented in the form of stories with human characters whom they hate or love as the case may be they sink deep into their moral consciousness Ts ao Ts ao s hypocrisy Min Tzu s filial piety Wenchun s romance Inging s passion Yang Kweifei s pampered tastes Ch in Kwei s treason Yen Sung s greed and

cruelty Chuko Liang's strategy Chang Fei's quick temper and Mulien's religious sanctity—they all become associated in the Chinese minds with their ethical tradition and become their concrete conceptions of good and evil conduct

The story of the *Romance of the Guitar* (*P ip achi*) is given here to show the type of moral influence of the theatre in general on the Chinese public and as an example of the kind of story with a direct appeal to domestic loyalty that has captured the popular fancy It is distinguished neither for dramatic unity in the modern sense being composed of forty two acts and the action extending over years nor for delicacy of imagination which is better shown in *The Peony Pavilion* (*Moutan ting*) nor for poetic beauty which is better shown in the *Western Chamber* (*Hsihsiang*) nor for grandeur of passion as in *The Hall of Longevity* (*Changshengtien*) But the *Romance of the Guitar* nevertheless holds its own in popularity by its sheer appeal to the beauty of domestic love and loyalty which always finds a warm place in the Chinese heart Its influence is more truly typical

There was a talented scholar of the Han Dynasty whose name was Ts ai Yung Because his parents were old he forsook all ambition for a political career and was content to stay with his parents at home He had just married a girl Chao Wuniang and the play opens with a scene of their happy family feast in their garden in spring There was however an imperial edict calling for literary talents in the country and the magistrate had reported Ts ai s name to the court This meant a trip to the capital and long years of absence and there was a ... ggle between loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety ...

Ts'ai was successful in his examinations coming out as the first scholar of the land Then trouble began For the prime minister Niu had an only daughter a beautiful and talented girl whom he loved more than anything else on earth Ts'ai was forced into marriage with her against his wish and on their wedding night with all worldly glory before him his happiness was marred by the thought of Chao Wuniang The minister s daughter found out the truth and planned with her husband to ask permission to go home and see their parents but her father was greatly angered and would not hear of it

In the meanwhile the conditions at home were going from bad to worse Chao Wuniang was the only one supporting the family by her handiwork and there came a famine Luckily there was famine relief from the public grainage and Chao received her share On her way home however she was robbed of her rice and was going to jump into an old well when she thought of her responsibility toward the old people and desisted Then she went to see Chang Ts'ai s friend to borrow a handful of rice to feed her parents with while she herself ate the husks in secret The passage where she sings about the husks comparing them to herself parted from the rice which was compared to her husband is by consensus of opinion the most moving part of the whole story

Soon however the parents found this out and asked her forgiveness for past complaints against the thin meals But old Mrs Ts'ai soon died and old Ts'ai himself fell ill She nursed him through his illness and when he too died she cut off her hair and sold it to defray part of the funeral expenses With the help of her good friend Chang she built her father in law s grave with her own hands Tired and hungry she lay down on the ground beside the grave and in her dream she saw that the God of the Earth had taken pity on her and sent two spirits the White Monkey and the Black Tiger to help her in the work When she awoke she found to her great joy

and surprise that the grave had been finished and she told the story to Chang

Chang then advised her to set out to the capital in search of her husband So she painted a portrait of her husband and disguising herself as a nun she begged her way to the capital carrying a guitar Going through all kinds of hardships she finally arrived at Loyang and it happened there was a Buddhist celebration at a temple where she therefore went and hung her husband s picture in public Ts ai the bridegroom happened to come to the temple to pray for his parents and recognizing his own picture had it taken home Chao Wuniang appeared the next day at Ts ai s home as a nun begging for alms She was accepted by the prime minister s daughter who sweetly conspired with her to test her husband s heart They were then happily reunited and the play ends with the two wives officially honoured by the Emperor himself

Such are the elements which make a popular play in China The story has that element of nobility which makes it popular with the Chinese as the society s doings are popular with English newspaper readers It has an official examination which plays such an important part in the changes of fortune in all Chinese stories But more than that it shows a faithful wife and devoted daughter a pair of aged parents in need of care a true friend in trouble a model madame who was not jealous of her rival and finally a high official somewhat in love with his own power and glory These are some of the elements in the Chinese drama on which the public are fed the same elements that make the moving pictures like *Way Down East* and *Over the Hill* great popular hits in China. They also show the Chinese as a profoundly emotional people with a weakness for sentimental plots

X THE NOVEL

Chinese novelists were afraid to let people know that they could condescend to such a thing as the writing of

novels Take the case of a comparatively recent work, *Yehsao Paoyen* written by Hsia Erhming in the eighteenth century He wrote very original essays and beautiful poetry and many travel and biographical sketches like all conventional scholars now collected in *Huanyuhsienchi* But he also wrote the *Yehsao Paoyen* and his authorship of this novel can be proved beyond a doubt through poems and essays in his collected works However as late as the autumn of 1890 his dutiful great grandson re printed the *Huanyuhsienchi* in order to perpetuate Hsia s name but he dared not or would not anyway did not include the novel incontrovertibly Hsia s best work in the list of his literary works Only as late as 1917 did Dr Hu Shih definitely establish and clarify the authorship of the *Red Chamber Dream* as written by Ts ao Hsuehch in un doubtedly one of the greatest if not the greatest master of Chinese prose (in *pehhua*) We still do not know who was the true author of *Chinp inmei* (*Gold Vase Plum*) and we are still in doubt as to which of the two alleged authors Shih Nai an or Lo Kuanchung was the author of *All Men Are Brothers*

Characteristic of this attitude toward the novel are the beginning and ending of the *Red Chamber Dream* A Taoist monk found the story inscribed on a huge rock which was the extra one left behind by the legendary god dess Nuwo when she was using 36 500 rocks to mend a huge crack in the sky caused by a terrific fight of Olympian giants This rock was one hundred and twenty feet high and two hundred and forty feet wide The Taoist monk copied the story from the rock inscriptions and when it came to Ts ao Hsuehch in s hands he worked at it for ten years and revised it five times dividing it into chapters and he wrote a verse on it

These pages tell of babbling nonsense
A string of sad tears they conceal
They all laugh at the author s folly
But who could know its magic appeal?

At the end of the story when one of the most tragic and deeply human dramas was enacted and the hero had become a monk and the soul which had given him intelligence and capacity for love and suffering had returned to the rock as Nuwo left it thousands of years ago the same Taoist monk reappeared This monk is said to have copied the story again and one day he came to the author s study and put the manuscripts in his care Ts ao Hsuehch in replied laughingly *This is only babbling* nonsense It is good for killing time with a few good friends after a wine feast or while chatting under the lamplight If you ask me how I happen to know the hero of the story and want all the details you are taking it too seriously Hearing what he said the monk threw the manuscripts down on his table and went away laughing tossing his head and mumbling as he went Really it contains only babbling nonsense Both the author himself and the man who copies it as well as its readers do not know what is behind it all This is only a literary pastime written for pleasure and self satisfaction And it is said that later on someone wrote the following verse on it

When the story is sad and touching
Then sadder is its tomfoolery
But we are all in the same dream
Do not sneer at its buffoonery

But the tomfoolery sad and touching as it was was extremely good Because such literature was written for pleasure and self satisfaction its creation was determined by a true creative impulse and not by love of money or fame And because it was ostracized literature in respectable circles *it escaped the banal influence of all classical* conventional standards So far from giving the author money or fame the authorship of a novel could endanger a scholar s personal safety

At Kiangyin the home of Shih Nai an the author of *All Men Are Brothers* there is still a legend about what Shih did in order to get himself out of trouble In this

legend Shih was credited with the gift of foreknowledge of events He had written this novel and was living in retirement having refused to serve the new Ming Dynasty One day the Emperor came with Liu Powen Shih's classmate and now the Emperor's right hand man Liu saw the manuscripts of this novel on his table and recognizing Shih's superior talent Liu plotted for his ruin It was a time when the security of the new dynasty was not yet ensured and Shih's novel advocating as it did the common brotherhood of all men including the robbers contained rather dangerous thoughts So one day on this basis Liu petitioned the Emperor to have Shih summoned to the capital for trial When the warrant came Shih knew that his manuscripts had been stolen and realized that it would mean his death so he borrowed five hundred taels from a friend with which to bribe the boatman and asked the latter to make the voyage as slowly as possible Therefore on the way to Nanking he hurriedly composed a fantastic supernatural novel the *Fengshenpang* * in order to convince the Emperor of his insanity Under this cover of insanity Shih saved his own life

Thus surreptitiously the novel grew like a wayward flower casting its glance on the lonely wayfarer in a sheer effort to please Like the wayward flower too impressively growing on the surface of a barren rock it grew without cultivation and it gave without expecting return from a sheer inner creative impulse Sometime such a flower gives only a single blossom in a quarter of a century but how that blossom shines! That blossom seems to be the justification for its existence it has drained its life blood and having blossomed the flower dies Such is the origin of all good tales and all good novels So did Cervante write and so did Boccaccio out of the sheer delight of creation Money had nothing to do with it Even in modern times where there are royaltie

* The authorship of this novel is really unknown

sweethearts and a number of other types are there too the impetuous Chingwen the feminine Hsijen the romantic Hsiangyun the womanly T anch un the garrulous Fengchieh the talented Miaoyu all there for one to settle one s choice upon each representing a different type The easiest way to find out a Chinaman s temperament is to ask him whether he likes Taiyu more or Paotsa more If he prefers Taiyu he is an idealist and if he prefers Paotsa he is a realist If he likes Chingwen he will probably become a good writer and if he likes Hsiangyun he should equally admire Li Po s poetry I like T anch un who has the combination of Taiyu s and Paotsa s qualities and who was happily married and became a good wife The character of Paoyu is decidedly weak and far from desirable as a hero to be worshipped by young men but whether desirable or not the Chinese men and women have most of them read the novel seven or eight times over and a science has developed which is called redology (*hunghsueh* from *Red Chamber Dream*) comparable in dignity and volume to the Shakespeare or Goethe commentaries

The *Red Chamber Dream* represents probably the height of the art of writing novels in China all things considered but it represents also only one type of novel Briefly Chinese novels may be classified into the following types according to their contents Their best known representative works are given below

1 The novel of adventure *Shuihu Chuan* (*All Men Are Brothers*)
2 The supernatural novel or tale of wonder *Hsiyuchi*
3 The historical novel *Three Kingdoms*
4 The love romance *Red Chamber Dream*
5 The pornographic novel *Chinp inmei* (*Gold Vase Plum*)
6 The novel of social satire *Julinwaishih*
7 The novel of ideas *Chinghuayuan*
8 The novel of social manners *Strange Things of the Last Twenty Years*

A strict classification is of course difficult The *Gold Vase Plum* for instance although four fifths pornographic is probably the best novel of social manners in its ruthless and vivid portrayal of common characters the gentry and the local rich and particularly of the position of women in Chinese society of the Ming Period To these novels proper we should have to add tales and short stories in the broad sense which have a very long tradition best represented by *Liaotsai* (*Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*) and *Chinku Ch ikuan* (*Madame Chuang s Inconstancy and Other Tales*) the last representing the best collection of old popular stories that have come down through the ages

I have grouped these more or less in the order of their popular influence A catalogue of common novels in circulating libraries on the street would show that novels of adventure in Chinese called novels of chivalry easily top the list A strange phenomenon this of course in a society where chivalric dare-devil deeds are so often discouraged by teachers and parents Yet psychologically it is most easy to explain In China chivalric sons who are likely to involve their families in trouble with the police or the magistrate have been driven out of the home into the gutter and chivalric citizens who are too public spirited and who must meddle in other people s affairs when they see injustice done to the poor or the helpless have been driven out of society into the green forests (a term for bandits) For if the parents do not break them they are likely to break their families owing to the absence of constitutional protection A man who insists on seeing justice done to the poor and oppressed in a society without constitutional protection must indeed be a hero of the unbreakable sort It is obvious that those who remain in the home and in respectable society are the type that is not worth the trouble of breaking at all These good citizens of China therefore admire the sons of the forest very much as helpless women admire the he man with a swarthy face an unshaven beard and

a hairy chest What is more easy and more exciting than for a consumptive lying in bed to read *All Men Are Brothers* and admire the prowess and exploits of Li Kuei? And it should be remembered that Chinese novels are always read in bed

The tale of wonder or novel of supernatural beings involving fights of giants and fairies covers a large store of folk tradition that lies very close to the Chinese heart In the chapter on the Chinese Mind it has been pointed out how in the Chinese mind the supernatural is always mixed with the real The *Hsiyuchi* translated in outline by Dr Timothy Richards in *A Mission to Heaven* describes the exploits and adventures of the monk Hsuantsang in his pilgrimage to India in the company of three extremely lovable semi human beings Sun the Monkey Chu the Pig and the Monk Sand It is not an original creation but is based on a religious folk legend The most lovable and popular character is of course Sun the Monkey who represents the mischievous human spirit eternally aiming at the impossible He ate the forbidden peach in heaven as Eve ate the forbidden apple in Eden and he was finally chained under a rock for five hundred years as Prometheus was chained By the time the decreed period was over Hsuantsang came and released him and he was to undertake the journey fighting all the devils and strange creatures on the way as an atonement for his sins but his mischievous spirit always remained and his development represents a struggle between the unruly human spirit and the holy way He had on his head an iron crown and whenever he committed a transgression Hsuantsang s incantation would cause the crown to press on his head until his head was ready to burst with pain At the same time Chu the Pig represents the animal desires of men which are gradually chastened by religious experience The conflict of such desires and temptations in a highly strange journey undertaken by a company of such imperfect and highly human characters produces a continual series of comical situations and exciting battles

aided by supernatural weapons and magic powers Sun the Monkey had stuck away in his ear a wand which could at will be transformed into any length he desired and moreover he had the ability to pull out hairs on his monkey legs and transform them into any number of small monkeys to harass his enemies and he could change himself into a cormorant or a sparrow or a fish or a temple with the windows for his eyes the door for his mouth and the idol for his tongue ready to gobble up the hostile monster in case he should cross the threshold of the temple Such a fight between Sun the Monkey and a supernatural spirit both capable of changing themselves chasing each other in the air on earth and in the water should not fail to interest any children or grown ups who are not too old to enjoy Mickey Mouse

This love of the supernatural is not confined to the tale of wonder but finds its way to all types of novels in validating in parts even such a first-class novel as the *Yehsao Paoyen* which is a novel of adventure and home love combined It has invalidated Chinese tales of mystery as in the *Paokung An* (*Cases of Paokung*) and makes the development of the detective story impossible which is due also to such causes as the lack of scientific reasoning and the cheapness of Chinese lives For when a Chinese dies the general conclusion is that he is dead and that is final The Chinese detective Paokung who is by the way a magistrate himself solves his mysteries and murders always by visions in dreams instead of by Sherlock Holmes s reasoning

In looseness of plot the Chinese novel is like the novels of D H Lawrence and in length like the Russian novels of Tolstoy and Dostoievsky The similarity between Chinese and Russian novels is quite apparent Both have an extremely realistic technique both revel in details both content themselves with telling the story without the subjectivity characteristic of the novels of Western Europe Fine psychological portrayal there is but there is very little room for the author to expand over his psycholog

ical knowledge The story is told primarily as a story In unmitigated delineation of stark depravity too the *Gold Vase Plum* has nothing to lose by comparison with *The Brothers Karamazov* The plot is generally best in the class described as love romances but in the novel of social manners which has been in vogue in the last three decades the plot wanders and disperses into a series of badly connected anecdotes and short stories interesting in themselves The short story itself did not even come into being until the very last decade when modern writers are trying to create something similar to what they have read in Western literature in the original or in translation

On the whole the tempo of the Chinese novel reflects very well the tempo of Chinese life It is enormous big and variegated and is never in a hurry The novel is avowedly created to kill time and when there is plenty time to kill and the reader in no hurry to catch a train here is no reason why he must hurry to the end A Chinese novel should be read slowly and with good temper When there are flowers on the way who is going to forbid the traveller from stopping to cull them?

XI INFLUENCE OF WESTERN LITERATURE

When two cultures meet it is natural and logical that the richer one should give and the other should take It is true but it is sometimes hard to believe that it is more blessed to give than to take China has apparently gained much in the last thirty years in literature and thought which must be entirely credited to Western influence This acknowledgement of the general superiority of Western literature in richness came as something of a bad shock to the self styled literary nation that is China Some fifty years ago the Chinese were impressed only by European gun boats some thirty years ago they were impressed by the Western political system about twenty years ago they discovered that the West even had a very good literature and now some people are making the slow dis

covery that the West has even a better social consciousness and better social manners

That is a rather large morsel for an old and proud nation to swallow but perhaps China is big enough to swallow it Anyway in literature the change has come Chinese literature has undergone a more profound change in style and content than it ever went through in the past two thousand years Directly due to the foreign influence the spoken language has come into its own as a literary medium the emancipation of the language has come from a man imbued with the Western spirit Its vocabulary has been greatly enriched which means the increase of new concepts scientific philosophical artistic and literary generally more exact and more well-defined than the old material of our thinking With this enrichment of the raw material of our thought has come a change in style which has been so modernized beyond recognition that old scholars find great difficulty in following the new pattern and would be at a complete loss to write a magazine article that could be accepted regarding either style or content New forms of literature like the *vers libre* poems in prose the short story and the modern drama have come into being and the technique of writing novels has been greatly modified Above all the old standards of criticism on the whole rather similar to those of the French neo classical school that made the appreciation of Shakespeare impossible for a century and a half in Europe have been abandoned and in their place we have a fresher richer and broader literary ideal which in the end must bring about a closer harmony between literature and life a greater accuracy of thinking and a greater sincerity of living

Of course it is more blessed to give than to take For with this change there has come chaos Progress is fun but progress is painful More than that progress is always ugly With the profound intellectual upheaval that is going on in Young China s minds we have lost a ce of gravity in thought and we have lost a cheerful

mon sense The task of adjustment between the old and the new is usually too much for the ordinary man and modern Chinese thought is characterized by an extreme immaturity of thinking fickleness of temper and shallowness of ideas To understand the old is difficult and to understand the new is not too easy A little bit of romanticism a tinge of libertinism a lack of critical and mental ballast extreme impatience with anything old and Chinese extreme gullibility in accepting the yearly new models of thought a perpetual hunt for the latest poet from Jugoslavia or the newest novelist from Bulgaria great sensitiveness toward foreigners in revealing anything Chinese which simply means a lack of self confidence an eighteenth century rationalism fits of melancholia and hyper enthusiasm the chase of slogans from year to year like a dog biting its own tail—these characterize the writings of modern China

We have lost the gift of seeing life steadily and seeing fe whole To day literature is clouded by politics and writers are divided into two camps one offering Fascism and the other offering Communism as a panacea for all social ills and there is probably as little real independence of thinking as there ever was in old China With all the apparent emancipation of ideas the old psychosis of the Grand Inquisition is still there under the cloak of modern terms For after all the Chinese love liberty as they love a foreign cocotte for whom they have no real affection These are the ugly features of the period of transition and they in time will wear off when China becomes politically better organized and its soul has less sensitive spots

All these changes have come through the influence of European literature This influence is of course not confined to literature for China has reaped in one harvest the fruits of Western scholarship in philosophy psychology science technology economics and all those things contained in the modern critical culture Even foreign children s games and songs and dances are now being in

troduced The net positive result of its progress in literature has been summarized in the discussion on the literary revolution This influence comes as a direct result of translations of European literature A glance at the range and content of these translations would show the extent and incidentally the type of this influence

The *1934 Yearbook of Chinese Publications* (in Chinese) gives a list of these translations of poems short stories and novels made in the last twenty three years covering twenty six countries This list is by no means complete but will serve for our present purpose Given in the order of the number of authors represented they are as follows England 47 France 38 Russia 36 Germany 30 Japan 30 United States 18 Italy 7 Norway 6 Poland 5 Spain 4 Hungary 3 Greece 3 Africa 2 Jews 2 and the rest Sweden Belgium Finland Czechoslovakia Austria Latvia Bulgaria Jugoslavia Syria Persia India and Siam represented by one author each

An examination of the translations from English authors shows that the novelists are represented by George Eliot Fielding Defoe (including *Moll Flanders*) Kingsley Swift Goldsmith the Bronte sisters (*Wuthering Heights* and *Villette*) Scott Conrad Mrs Gaskell and Dickens (*Old Curiosity Shop David Copperfield Oliver Twist Dombey and Son Nicholas Nickleby A Tale of Two Cities Christmas Carol Hard Times*) Rider Haggard through the influence of Lin Shu s translations has obtained a popularity entirely out of proportion with his standing The poets are represented by Spenser (*Faerie Queene*) Browning Burns Byron Shelley Wordsworth Ernest Dowson Five of Shakespeare s plays (*Merchant of Venice As You Like It Twelfth Night Henry VI* and *Romeo and Juliet*—rather haphazard as one can see) have been translated by separate translators The drama is represented by Galsworthy (seven of his plays) Pinero Jones Sheridan (*School for Scandal*) and Shaw (*Mrs Warren s Professio 1 Widowers Houses The Philanderer Arms and the Man Man and Superman* and P

The Irish school is represented by Synge and Dunsany Essayists are represented by Lamb Arnold Bennett and Max Beerbohm James Barrie and Oscar Wilde have received a large share of attention there are two translations of *Lady Windermere s Fan* and three translations of *Salome* also Wilde s *Picture of Dorian Gray* and *De Profundis* have been translated H G Wells is known through his *Time Machine Mr Britling Sees It Through The First Man in the Moon* and especially through his *Short History of the World* Thomas Hardy is only known through his short stories and poems although his name is very familiar Katherine Mansfield through the influence of the late Hsu Tzumo is rather well known This list covers only authors whose translated works have appeared in book form and of course does not cover authors in other fields like Bertrand Russell whose influence is very great

In the French section one comes across names like Balzac Moliere Maupassant (complete works) France (nine of his works *Thais* twice translated) Gide Voltaire (*Candide*) Rousseau (*Confessions* and *Emile*) Zola (poorly represented) Gautier Flaubert (*Madame Bovary* thrice translated *Salammbo* and *Un Cœur Simple*) Dumas *pere et fils* have long been popular especially *La Dame aux Camelias* which has become common property among the Chinese Hugo is well represented by *Les Travailleurs de la mer Les Miserables Notre Dame de Paris Quatre vin t treize Hernani Ruy Blas* and *Lucrece Borgia* The early romanticists are represented by Chateaubriand (*Atala* and *Rene*) and Bernardine de Saint Pierre Daudet s *Sappho* and Prevost s *Manon Lescaut* are of course favourites Baudelaire is well known and Rostand s *Cyrano* has its devotees Barbusse has two translations of his novels *Le Feu* and *Clarte* and even the long *Jean Christophe* of Rolland is now available in Chinese besides his *Le Montespan Pierre et Luce* and *Le Jeu de l amour et de la mort*

Classical German literature is represented of course by Goethe among whose works *Faust Werther* (two translations) *Egmont Clavigo Stella* and part of *Wilhelm Meister* have been translated and Schiller (*Die Jungfrau von Orleans Wilhelm Tell Wallenstein* and *Die Rauber*) Represented also are Lessing (*Minna von Barnhelm*) Freytag (*Die Journalisten*) Heine (*Buch der Lieder* selected and *Die Harzreise*) De la Motte Fouque s *Undine* and Storm s *Immensee* (three translations) are extremely popular Hauptmann is known through his *Die Weber Der rote Hahn Der Biberpelz Einsame Menschen* and his recent novel *Der Ketzer von Soana* (two translations) while his *Die Versunkene Glocke* was once the name of a magazine Among others are Sudermann s *Frau Sorge* and more modern works like Wedekind s *Fruhlings Erwachen* and Leonhard Frank s *Karl und Anna*

Apart from a few translations from Hawthorne Mrs Stowe Irving Mark Twain and Jack London the interest in American literature centres around more modern works The best known is Upton Sinclair whose popularity came with the tide of Russian communist literature Thirteen of his works have been translated and in this category may also be mentioned Michael Gold s short stories and his novel *Jews Without Money* Sinclair Lewis is represented only by *Main Street* and Theodore Dreiser by a volume of short stories although both are well known Two of Eugene O Neill s plays (*Beyond the Horizon* and *The Moon of the Caribbees*) have been translated Pearl S Buck s *The Good Earth* exists in two Chinese translations while her *Sons* and short stories have also been translated

The tide of Russian literature came in or about 1927 with the establishment of the Nanking Government and the suppression of the communist movement For like literary Jacobitism in England which grew with the defeat of political Jacobitism literary Bolshevism inund China after the success of the Nationalist revolution

tremendous young enthusiasm which helped very largely to make the Nationalist revolution in 1926 7 a reality was denied fields of expression with the official suppression of the Youth Movement by the Kuomintang and a process of introversion took place A strong undercurrent was set on its way which grew from a general dissatisfaction with the things as they are

And so the tide turned The trumpet call for a revolutionary literature (synonymous with proletariat literature) was sounded and at once found a large following Leaders of the Renaissance of 1917 became out of date overnight and were generously labelled as old men Young China was disgusted and rebelled Most intellectual leaders had learned to keep quiet and started collecting curios and old seals Hu Shih continued to thunder and to roar but his words fell on a comparative apathetic audience which wanted something very much radical Chou Tsojen Yu Tafu and writers of *the Yussu school were too much individualists to join the* throng Lusin fought resisted the tide for a year and then went over

In the short space of hardly two years (1928 9) over a hundred Russian literary works long and short were put on the market with hectic speed before the Government could quite wake up to the situation These include works by the following authors Lunacharsky Liebediensky Michels Fadeev Gladhov Kollontay Shishkov Romanov Pilniak Ognyov Sosnovsky Shaginian Yakovlev Alexei Tolstoy Demidov Erenburg Arosev, Babel Kasatkin Ivanov Iva Luuts Sannikoff Seyfullina Bakhmetev Fedin Serafimovitch Prishvin Semenov Sholokhov NVNV Vessely Zoschenko Tretiakev Sobole Kolosov Formanov and Figner We have omitted to mention of course the great Russians of pre revolutionary days like Pushkin Tchekov Tolstoy and Turgeniev who had before this time been familiar to the reading public Tchekov s complete works have been translated Tolstoy is known through twenty of his

works including the long *War and Peace* (translated in part only) *Anna Karenina* and *The Resurrection* Dostoievsky is a great favourite (seven of his works including *Crime and Punishment*) Turgeniev had long been known (twenty one of his works translated) Gorky bridging across the two periods is of course popular Lroshenko Andreyev and Artzybashev are also popular due to Lusin s influence As a sign of the feverish demand for things Russian may be mentioned the curious fact that twenty three out of the barely over hundred post revolutionary works had double translations published by rival companies at about the same time including four which appeared in three simultaneous translations Among the more popular works may be mentioned Madame Kollontay s *Red Love* (two translations) Gladhov s *Cement* (three translations) Ognyov s *Diary of a Communist Schoolboy* (three translations) Artzybashev s *Sanine* (three translations) the various works of Serafimovitch and Pilniak the plays of Shishkov Ivanov and the critical works of Lunacharsky

This seems a very large meal for Young China to devour and if digestion is not perfect Young China cannot be blamed No wonder that Hawthorne and Anatole France are hopelessly out of date The authorities are rubbing their eyes now and doing something about it What they can do and what will be the outcome no one can foretell Censorship is easy and has been applied lately What is not so easy is to give people a sense of satisfaction with the state of things This can be done in three ways The first is to give many of these writers good jobs which proves sometimes effective The second is to forbid them to say that they are dissatisfied which is of course foolish And the third is to make the things really satisfactory for the nation which censorship alone cannot do The nation is divided between optimists and pessimists with the latter in the majority But unless there is a great deal of constructive work and honest thinking and critical balance the mere worship of slogans and

pompous verbosity will not give China a new state whether communist or fascist The older generation who want to shunt China back to the old track of Confucianism including the seclusion of women and the worship of chaste widowhood will only estrange the sympathies of Young China At the same time the communist idealist with a volume of Karl Marx under his arm and unkempt hair on his head and smoking a Russian cigarette and perpetually fulminating against somebody will not bring China into salvation Literature I suspect is still a pastime of the *literati* old and new

Chapter Eight

THE ARTISTIC LIFE

I THE ARTIST

I THINK of all phases of the Chinese civilization Chinese art alone will make any lasting contribution to the culture of the world This point I think will not be seriously contested Chinese science in any case does not make any pretensions although the Chinese empirical medicine provides a rich field for medical research and discoveries Chinese philosophy will never make any lasting impression on the West because Chinese philosophy with its moderation restraint and pacifism which are all physically conditioned by the decrease of bodily energy can never suit the Western temperament with its aggressive exuberance and vitality

For the same reason the Chinese social organization will never fit the West Confucianism is too matter of fact Taoism too nonchalant and Buddhism too negative to suit the Western positive outlook on life No people that are daily sending men to explore the North Pole or conquer the air or break speed records can become good Buddhists I have seen a few examples of European Bud

dhist monks who talk altogether too loudly and too vehemently to conceal the tumultuous passions in their souls In particular I have seen one who in his energetic denunciation of the West is willing to call down fire and brimstone from heaven to burn up all Europe When Europeans put on Buddhist gowns and try to look calm and passive they merely look ridiculous

Moreover it would be unfair to judge the Chinese as a nation without an understanding of their art There are certain hidden innermost recesses of the Chinese soul that can be known only through its reflection in Chinese art for like Cyrano de Bergerac the extreme sensitiveness and fine feeling of the Chinese soul are hidden behind a somewhat unprepossessing exterior Behind the Chinese flat unemotional face is concealed a deep emotionalism and behind his sullen decorous appearance resides a carefree vagabond soul Those rough yellow fingers mould and fashion objects of pleasing design and harmony and from the almond eyes behind the high cheek bones shines a tender light that dwells fondly on forms of exquisite beauty From the Temple of Heaven to the scholar s letter paper and other products of art craft Chinese art shows a taste and finesse and understanding of tone and harmony that distinguish the best products of the human spirit

Calm and harmony distinguish Chinese art and calm and harmony come from the soul of the Chinese artist The Chinese artist is a man who is at peace with nature who is free from the shackles of society and from the temptations of gold and whose spirit is deeply immersed in mountains and rivers and other manifestations of nature Above all his breast must brood no ill passions for a good artist we strongly believe must be a good man He must first of all chasten his heart or broaden his spirit chiefly by travel and by contemplation This is the severe training we impose on the Chinese painter It would be only too easy to give testimonies from Chinese painters to illustrate this point Thus Wen Chenm

One can understand Chinese calligraphy only when one s eyes have been opened to the form and rhythm in herent in every animal s body and limbs Every animal body has a harmony and beauty of its own a harmony which grows directly from its vital functions especially the functions of movement The hairy legs and tall body of the draught horse are as much a form of beauty as the more neatly formed outline of the racing horse That harmony exists in the outline of the swift springing grey hound as it exists also in that of the hairy Irish terrier whose head and limbs end almost in square formations —strikingly represented in Chinese calligraphy by the blunt *li shu* style (current in the Han Dynasty and ele vated into an art by Teng Shih ju of the Ch ing Dynasty)

The important thing to observe is that these plant and animal forms are beautiful because of their suggestion of movement Consider a sprig of plum blossoms How carelessly beautiful and artfully irregular it is! To under stand the beauty of that sprig fully artistically is to understand the underlying principle of Animism and of Chinese art The sprig even when deprived of its blossoms is beautiful because it lives because it expresses a living impulse to grow The outline of every tree expresses a rhythm resulting from certain organic impulses the im pulse to grow and reach out toward the sunshine the impulse to maintain its equilibrium and the necessity of resisting the movement of the wind Every tree is beauti ful because it suggests these impulses and particularly be cause it suggests a movement toward somewhere a stretch ing toward something It has not tried to be beautiful It has only wanted to live Yet the result is something per fectly harmonious and immensely satisfying

Nor does nature artificially invest the greyhound with an abstract beauty apart from its functions the high arch of the greyhound s body and the connecting line between its body and its hind legs are built for swiftness and they are beautiful because they suggest swiftness Yet from this harmonious function emerges a harmonious form The

softness of the cat s movements results in the softness of its contour and even the dogged squatting outline of a bulldog has a beauty of force all its own This is the explanation of nature s infinite richness of patterns which are always harmonious always rhythmic and infinitely variable without ever exhausting its forms In other words nature s beauty is a dynamic and not a static beauty

It is exactly this beauty of movement which is the key to Chinese calligraphy Its beauty is dynamic and not static and because it expresses a dynamic beauty *a beauty of momentum* it lives and it too is infinitely variable without exhaustion A swift sure stroke is appreciated because it is made swiftly and powerfully at one stroke thus possessing a unity of movement defying imitation or correction for any correction is immediately detected as disharmonious Incidentally that is why calligraphy as an art is so difficult

That the ascribing of beauty in Chinese calligraphy to the animistic principle is not my own fancy can be proved from Chinese references to the meat bones and tendons of strokes although their philosophic import has never been consciously laid bare until one comes to think of ways and means by which calligraphy can be made intelligible to the West Thus Madame Wei the talented aunt of Wang Hsichih said

> In the writing of those who are skilful in giving strength of stroke the characters are bony in the writing of those who are not skilful in giving strength of strokes the characters are fleshy Writing that has a great deal of bone and very little meat is called sinewy writing and writing that is full of flesh and weak bones is called piggy writing A writing that is powerful and sinewy is divine a writing that has neither power nor sinews is like an invalid

The dynamic principle of movement results in a pi
ple of structure which is essential to an under
Chinese calligraphy The mere beauty of bala

symmetry is never regarded as the highest form One of the principles of Chinese writing is that a square should never be a perfect square but should be higher on one side than the other and that two symmetrical parts should never be exactly similar in size and position This principle is called *shih* or posture which represents a beauty of momentum The result is that in the highest examples of this art we have structural forms which are seemingly unbalanced and yet somehow maintain the balance The difference between this beauty of momentum and beauty of merely static proportions is the difference between the picture of a man standing or sitting in a resting position and the snapshot of a man swinging his golf stick or of a football player who has just sent the ball soaring through the air Just as the picture of a lady tossing her head is more suggestive of movement than one with her head on a straight level so the Chinese characters written with their tops tilted to one side are preferred artistically to those with a symmetrical head The best examples of this type of structure are contained in the tomb inscription of Chang Menglung whose characters give the effect of being always on the point of toppling over and yet always remain in balance The best modern example of this style is to be seen in the writings of Yu Yujen Chairman of the Control Yuan who owes his present position very largely to his renown as a calligraphist of high order

Modern art is in search of rhythms and experimenting on new forms of structure and patterns It has not found them yet It has succeeded only in giving us the impression of trying to escape from reality Its most apparent characteristic is the effort not to soothe us but to jar on our senses For this reason a study of Chinese calligraphy and its animistic principle and ultimately a restudy of the rhythms of the natural world in the light of this animistic principle or rhythmic vitality gives promise of great possibilities The profuse use of straight lines planes and cones striking one another at different angles

can only excite us but they can never be alive with beauty These planes cones straight lines and wavy lines seem to have exhausted the modern artist s ingenuity Why not go back to nature? It remains yet for some Western artist to strike a pioneer path by practising English calli graphy with the brush for ten years and then if he is talented and really understands the animistic prin iple he will be able to write for signboards on Times Square in lines and forms truly worthy f the name of an art

The full significance of Chinese calligraphy as the basis of Chinese æsthetics will be seen in a study of Chinese painting and architecture In the lines and composition of Chinese painting and in the forms and structures of Chinese architecture we shall be able to recognize the principles developed from Chinese calligraphy These basic ideas of rhythm form and atmosphere give the different lines of Chinese art like poetry painting archi tecture porcelain and house decorations an e sential unity of spirit

III Painting

Chinese painting the flower of Chinese culture is dis tinguished by a spirit and an atmosphere all its own en tirely different from We tern painting It is as different from Western painting as Chinese poetry is different from Western poetry That difference is hard to grasp and express It has a certain tone and atmosphere visible in Western painting but essentially different and achieved by different means It shows a certain economy of mate rial marked by the many blank spaces an idea of com position determined by its own harmony and marked by a certain rhythmic vitality and a boldness and freedom of the brush which impress the onlooker in an unfor gettable manner Somehow the picture before us has undergone an inner process of transformation in the artist s mind shorn of its irrelevancies its disharmonies and giving us only a completely satisfying whole so

to life and yet so different from it The design is more obvious the elimination of material more rigidly carried out the points of contrast and concentration easier to trace and we decidedly feel that the artist has interfered with the material reality and presented it to us only as it appears to him without losing its essential likeness or intelligibility to others It is subjective without the violent assertions of the artist s ego in the modern Western painting and without the latter s unintelligibility to us common men It manages to achieve a decidedly subjective appearance of things without making contortions It does not try to paint all before one s eyes and it leaves a great deal to the onlooker s imagination without degenerating into a geometric puzzle Sometimes the concentration on the immediate object is so intensive that only the tip of a plum branch is given in the whole picture and left there as perfect And yet with all this subjective interference with the material reality the effect is not a jarring assertion of the artist s ego but a complete harmony with nature How was this achieved and how did this peculiar tradition grow up?

This artistic tradition did not come by chance or by an accidental discovery Its characteristics may be most conveniently summed up I think in the word *lyricism* and this lyricism came from a certain type of human spirit and culture For we must remember that Chinese painting is closely related in spirit and technique to Chinese calligraphy and Chinese poetry Calligraphy gave it its technique the initial twist which determined its future development and Chinese poetry lent it its spirit For poetry painting and calligraphy are closely related arts in China The best way of understanding Chinese painting is to study these influences which went into the building of that peculiar tradition

Briefly stated this peculiar tradition which we have called its lyricism is the result of two revolts which modern Western painting is going through but which came to the history of Chinese painting in the eighth century They

are the revolt against the subjection of the artist s lines to the painted objects and the revolt against a photographic reproduction of the material reality Chinese calligraphy helped it to solve the first problem and Chinese poetry helped it over the second A study of these revolts and of the genesis of this artistic tradition will enable us to see why Chinese painting came to have its present character

The first problem of Chinese painting and of all painting is What shall be done with the lines or strokes as paint is put on the canva or ink on the silk? It is a purely technical problem the problem of touch But no artist can escape it and the touch used will determine the whole style of his work If the line is mechanically used to trace the lines of the painted objects it can have no freedom of its own Sooner or later we shall get tired of it

It is the same rebellion which we see in modern art a rebellion which came up in China with Wu Taotzu (c 700 760) and Wu Taotzu solved it by his mastery of the brush distinguished by its boldness and freedom Instead of concealing the line the artist glorified it (We shall see the same principle in Chinese architecture) Thus in place of the dead and servile lines of Ku K aichih (346-407) which were more or less even as if drawn by a steel pen Wu started the so-called orchid petal line curling and constantly changing in width due to the natural rhythm of a stroke laid with the sensitive brush In fact it was from Wu Taotzu s strokes that his pupil Chang Hsu created the extremely swift style of entwining ropes in calligraphy Wang Wei (Mochieh 699 759) further developed and modified the stroke in painting sometimes abolishing the traditional method of tracing outlines and consequently is generally credited with having founded the southern school Its far reaching consequences we shall soon see

The second problem is How shall the artist s personality be projected into the work and make it worthy of the name of an art transcending mere efforts at veri

similitude yet without sacrificing truth harmony or reality? This revolt against mere physical accuracy is also back of all the new tendencies in modern art which may be described as searching for an escape from the material reality and for methods of indicating the artist s own ego in the work The same revolt came in the history of Chinese art in the eighth century with the new school People felt tired or dissatisfied with photographic reproductions of the material reality

Here was the same old problem How could the artist invest the objects with his own emotions or reactions without producing a grotesque caricature? The problem had already been solved in Chinese poetry The revolt was a revolt against mere accuracy and minute craftsmanship The contrast between the new and the old school is interestingly shown in the story of two paintings of Szechuen ndscapes on palace walls done by Li Ssuhsun (651 16) and Wu Taotzu during the reign of T ang Ming ang It is said that Li the master of the northern school did his landscape in about a month with all its tracery work and golden colours while Wu did his grand landscape of the entire Chingling river in a day s time in splashes of ink and the Emperor said Li Ssuhsun did it in a month and Wu Taotzu did it in a day and each is perfect in its own way

When this revolt against minute artistry came there was Wang Wei a first-class landscape painter himself and he introduced into it the spirit and technique of Chinese poetry with its impressionism its lyricism its emphasis on atmosphere and its pantheism Thus the father of the southern school which makes Chinese painting deservedly famous was a man nurtured in the Chinese poetic spirit

Chronologically the development was as follows It seems that the Chinese artistic genius first became conscious of itself in the fourth fifth and sixth centuries It was in this period that art criticism and literary criticism were developed And it was Wang Hsichih (321 379)

belonging to one of the most aristocratic families of his time who became known as the prince of calligraphists. During the following centuries the influence of Buddhism was at work giving us the famous sculptures of Tatung and Lungmen The style of writing which developed in Northern Wei now preserved in the so-called Wei rubbings from inscriptions of this period set the high water mark for Chinese calligraphy in my opinion still the best in its whole history The Wei style was the great style it was not merely beautiful but had beauty and power and finesse combined Hsieh Ho in this period first enunciated the principle of rhythmic vitality which became the central principle of all Chinese painting in the last fourteen hundred years

Then came the great eighth century which for some reason or other which I cannot quite explain became the most creative period of Chinese history in painting poetry and prose The cause was at least partially to be found in the infusion of new blood which took place during the chaos of the preceding centuries Li Po and Wang Wei were both born in the north west where race mixture was most active but we lack more adequate genealogical data Anyway the human spirit became free and creative This century gave us Li Po and Tu Fu and a good number of other first-class poets Li Ssuhsun Wang Wei and Wu Taotzu in painting Chang Hsu in the running style and Yen Chench ing in the formal style of calligraphy and Han Yu in prose Wang Wei was born in 699 Wu Taotzu about 700 Li Po in 701 Yen Chench ing in 708 Tu Fu in 712 Han Yu in 768 Po Chuyi in 772 and Liu Chungyuan in 773—all first-class names in Chinese history And in this century too a beauty of beauties Yang Kweifei was born to keep the Emperor company and grace the court with the poet Li Po Nor was this period distinguished by peace either

However that may be the southern school being and it is the southern school that we interested in as being most peculiarly C

type of painting became known as the scholars painting and later on in the eleventh century under the influence of Sung scholars like Su Tungpo (1035 1101) Mi Fei (1050 1107) and his son Mi Yujen (1086 1165) it reached still greater simplicity and subjectivity It was also known as literary men s painting Su Tungpo even painted a bamboo tree without its joints and when someone protested he replied by asking Did the bamboo grow by adding one joint to another? Su who was a great writer and poet specialized in painting bamboos and he was so fond of them that he once said I would rather go without meat in my meals than go without bamboos in my house His bamboo was like his drunken style of running script a splash of ink without colours and his manner of painting was to get drunk and after dinner under the stimulation of alcohol when his spirit was heightened dip his brush in the ink and write characters or bamboos or poetry as the inspiration came it did not matter which Once in such a state he bled a poem on his host s wall which is hardly translatable Sprouts come from my dry intestines moistened by wine and from my lungs and liver grow bamboos and rocks So full of life they grow that they cannot be restrained and so I am writing them on your snow white wall For now painting was no longer painted but written like characters Wu Taotzu too often did his paintings under the inspiration of wine or of his friend s sword-dance whose rhythm he incorporated into his work It is evident that work done under such momentary stimulation could have been accomplished only in a few strokes or a few minutes after which the alcoholic effect would have already vanished

Back of all this drunkenness however there was a very fine philosophy of painting The Chinese painter scholars who left behind a tremendous amount of very profound art criticism distinguished between *hsing* or the objects physical forms *li* or the inner law or spirit and *yi* or the artist s own conception The scholars painting

was a protest against slavish verisimilitude of which it would be easy to give quotations from the earliest to modern times The Sung scholars emphasized especially *li*—the inner spirit of things Mere accuracy of detail was the work of commercial artists whereas painting worthy of the name of an art should aim at catching the spirit It was not just mere drunkenness

But the fact that such painting was the work not of professional artists but of scholars at play was of profound significance It was their spirit of amateurism which enabled them to deal with painting in a light and pleasant spirit For during the eleventh century when there was a brief outburst of the spirit of scholars painting such painting was referred to as *mohsi* or play with ink It was a pastime of the scholars when they were in the playing mood like calligraphy and like poetry There was no heaviness of spirit It seemed as if the scholar after having obtained mastery of the brush in calligraphy had an exuberance of energy which he applied to art as a pleasant and interesting change The material equipment was the same the same scrolls the same brushes and the same ink and water and they were all there before his desk For no palette was necessary Mi Fei one of the greatest of scholar painters sometimes used even a roll of paper for his brush or the pulp of sugar-cane or the stalk of a lotus flower When the inspiration came and there was magic in the scholar s wrist there was nothing which seemed impossible to these artists For they had mastered the art of conveying fundamental rhythms and everything else was secondary There are to day painters who make sketches with their bare fingers and one even with his mobile tongue dipped in ink and licking the paper as he draws along Painting was and still is the scholar s recreation

This playing mood accounts for a certain quality of Chinese painting called *yi* The nearest word for this in translation is fugitiveness if this word may be u to denote at the same time romanticism and

of the recluse It is this quality of light hearted and carefree romanticism which distinguishes Li Po s poetry This or fugitive or recluse quality is prized as the highest quality of the scholar s paintings and it comes from the playing spirit Like Taoism it is the effort of the human spirit to get away from the workaday hum drum world and achieve a light hearted freedom

This desire is understandable when we realize how much the scholar s spirit was restrained in the moral and poli tical spheres and in painting at least it did its best to recover that freedom Ni Yunlin (1301 1374) a great Yuan painter most distinguished for this quality said My bamboo paintings are not intended merely to paint the fugitive spirit in my breast What do I care whether they are exact or not whether the leaves are thick or thin or whether the branches are straight or crooked? Again he said What I call painting is only a few swiftly made strokes of the romantic brush not in to copy reality but *merely to please myself*

One should recognize therefore in Chinese ink drawings human figures and landscapes of the southern school certain influences of calligraphy First one sees the swift powerful and always highly rhythmic strokes In the twisting lines of the pine tree one sees the same princi ple of twisting used in Chinese writings Tung Ch ich ang said about painting trees that every line should twist all along and Wang Hsichih said of calligraphy that every slanting line should have three twists Tung Ch ich ang also said that when scholars paint they should apply the laws of the running script the *lishu* and the archaic script One sees also in the hollow wavy lines of the rocks a type of script called *feipo* which is written with a relatively dry brush leaving many hollow lines in the centre of the strokes and sees in the entwining branches of the trees the wriggling lines of the seal character For this is a secret left us by Chao Mengfu himself Further the artistic use of blank space is an important calligraphic principle for proper spacing is the very first law of calli

graphy as stated by Pao Shenpx If th j
rect even mere symmetry of f n x
may be seen in Yu Yujen s wr I I
matter in Chinese writing if the c t I I r
is unsymmetrical but incorrect spa 1 nf c h
offence which is the surest s gn f in tur ral n
ship

And one recognizes further in the t j l u f de
sign of Chinese paintings the controlling r t the
brush called *piyi* *Yi* means the concept tl e
artist s mind To make a Chinese drawing t h
write out a conception *hs ehy* Before ne puts tl
brush on the paper the artist has a definite concepti n in
his mind then as he draws al ng he is only writing out
that conception through certain strokes he br x ks no
interference of irrelevancies and adds a twig here or a
blade there to preserve the organic rhythm and when l e
has expressed the essential conception in his m nd he
leaves off For that reason the p cture lives because tl e
conception behind it lives It is like reading a good epi
gram the words end but the flavour remains The
Chinese artists express this technique by saying that the
conception precedes the brush and when the brush has
done its work the conception still remains For the
Chinese are consummate masters in suggestion and leav
ing off at the right moment They like good tea and
olives which give a back flavour *hwe wei* which is
not felt until a few minutes after eating the olive or drink
ing the good tea The total effect of this technique in
painting is a quality called *k ungling* empty and alive
which means extreme vitality coupled with economy of
design

Chinese poetry gives Chinese painting its spirit As
stated already in the discussion on poetry it more often
happens in China than in the West that the poet is a
painter and the painter poet Poetry and painting come
from the same human spirit and it is natural
spirit and inner technique of both should be

We have seen how painting influenced poetry in perspective because the poet s eye is the painter s eye But we shall also see how the painter s spirit is the poet s spirit how the painter shows the same impression the same method of suggestion the same emphasis on an indefinable atmosphere and the same pantheistic union with nature which characterize Chinese poetry For the poetic mood and the picturesque moment are often the same and the artist mind which can seize the one and give it form in poetry can also with a little cultivation express the other in painting

First we can dismiss the question of perspective which puzzles Westerners by explaining once again that Chinese pictures are supposed to be painted from a very high mountain The perspective one obtains of the world of objects from a high altitude say from an aeroplane flying six thousand feet above the earth must be different from the perspective on the ordinary level The higher the vantage point the less of course the lines converge toward a point This is also visibly influenced by obl ng shape of Chinese scrolls which requires a ng distance from the foreground at the bottom of the scroll to the line of the horizon at the top of the scroll

Like the modern Western painters the Chinese artists wish to portray not reality but their own impressions of reality and hence their impressionistic method The trouble with Western impressionists is that they are a little too clever and a little too logical With all their ingenuity the Chinese artists are not able to produce artistic freaks to startle the layman The basis of their impressionism is as has been explained the theory that the conception must precede the using of the brush Not the material reality therefore but the artist s conception of the reality is the purport of the painting They remember that they are painting for fellow human beings and the conceptions must be humanly intelligible to others They are restrained by the Doctrine of the Golden Mean Their impressionism is therefore a human impressionism In

painting a picture their object is to convey a unified conception which determines what to include and what to leave out resulting in the *k'unsling* quality

Since the conception is of primary importance the greatest pains must be taken to conceive a poetic conception In the Sung Dynasty when scholars had competitive examinations in painting under the Imperial Bureau of Painting we see how this consideration of the poetic conception overruled every other standard Invariably it was the painting which showed the best conception that won Now it is characteristic that the best conceptions always depended on the method of suggestion The themes were poetic enough in themselves since they were always a line taken from a poem But the ingenuity lies in the most suggestive interpretation of that poetic line A few examples will suffice In the reign of Huichung once the subject for examinations was a line

Bamboos cover a wine shop by the bridge

Many competitors tried to concentrate on the wine shop as the centre of the picture There was one man however who painted only a bridge a bamboo grove by its side and hidden in that grove only a shop-sign bearing the character wine but no wine shop at all And this picture won because *the wine shop was hidden in the imagination*

Another subject given was a line from Wei Ingwu s poem

At the deserted ferry a boat drifts across by itself

The poet had already used the method of suggestion in conveying the atmosphere of silence and desolation by showing that the boat left alone drifted across by the force of the current but the painter carried the method of suggestion further The winning picture was one which conveyed this feeling of silence and desolation by drawi
a bird resting on the boat and another one about to
on it The presence of the birds near the boat

that the boat was deserted and no human beings were about

There was another painting which was intended to portray the atmosphere of luxury in the rich man s mansion A modern painter sick of painting reality would also try to suggest But he would probably paint a jumble of a saxophone that magically penetrates through a champagne glass that rests on a woman s breast that hides underneath three quarters of a motor car wheel that grazes over the funnels of a Cunard liner etc etc The Chinese impressionist painted however only a rich mansion in the background with its gate standing half open and a maid peeping out and pouring out a basketful of rich men s delicacies like ducks feet *lichi* walnuts hazelnuts etc which were delineated with the greatest realism of detail The sumptuous feast inside was not seen but only suggested by these left overs to be thrown into the refuse heap The conception is therefore everything on which depends very largely the poetic quality of the work It is shy of straight portrayal and it always tries to suggest The constant care of the Chinese artists is *Leave something for the imagination!*

Had Chinese painting remained content however with the emphasis on conception which is more a matter of the head than of the heart it would have struck a blind alley for art which ought to appeal primarily to our feelings and our senses would have degenerated into a mathematical puzzle or a logical problem No amount of technical skill or cleverness of intellectual conception can give us great art if it fails to achieve an atmosphere and evoke in us a sympathetic state of emotion We see this in all great paintings whether Chinese or European The mood is therefore everything The drawing of two birds alighting on a boat serves merely to suggest the absence of any boatman near by and that absence can mean nothing to us unless at the same time it ev kes in us a mood of solitude and desolation Why should not the boat drift across by the force of he current if it wants to? The

picture becomes alive and full of meaning to us only when we feel that the boat would not have drifted across like that if it had not been left alone and this leads to a reflection on the desolation of the scene which could touch our emotions Of what avail is it to paint the sign of a wine shop hidden in a bamboo grove by the bridge unless we are led to imagine the people who might be gathered in that wine shop where time hangs heavy and life is at peace and men can spend whole afternoons gossiping about the fisherman s rheumatism and the queen s girlhood romance? The evocation of the mood is therefore everything in painting as in poetry This leads us to a consideration of atmosphere otherwise called rhythmic vitality which has been the highest ideal of Chinese painting for the last fourteen hundred years since Hsieh Ho first enunciated it and other painters elaborated and discussed and quarrelled over it

For we must remember that the Chinese painters did not want mere accuracy of detail Su Tungp o said If one criticizes painting by its verisimilitude one s understanding is similar to that of a child But taking away mere verisimilitude what has the painter to offer us? What after all is the purpose of painting? The answer is that the artist should convey to us the spirit of the scenery and evoke in us a sympathetic mood in response That is the highest object and ideal of Chinese art We remember how the artist makes periodic visits to the high mountains to refresh his spirit in the mountain air and clean his breast of the accumulated dust of urban thoughts and suburban passions He climbs to the highest peaks to obtain a moral and spiritual elevation and he braves the winds and soaks himself in rain to listen to the thundering waves of the sea He sits among piles of wild rocks and brushwood and hides himself in bamboo groves for days in order to absorb the spirit of life and nature He should convey to us the benefit of that communion of nature and communicate to us some of spirit of the things as it is instilled into his

and re create for us a picture surcharged with moods and feelings ever-changing and wonderful like nature itself He might like Mi Yujen give us a landscape of nestling clouds and enveloping mists which entwine the rocks and encircle the trees in which all details are submerged in the general moistness of the atmosphere or like Ni Yunlin he might give us a picture of autumn de solation with the country a stretch of blink whiteness and the trees so sparse of foliage that only a few dangling leaves affect us by their loneliness and their shivering cold In the power of this atmosphere and this general rhythm all details will be forgotten and only the central mood re mains That is rhythmic vitality *ch iyun shengtung* the highest ideal of Chinese art Thus poetry and painting meet again

This is the message of Chinese art that it teaches us a profound love of nature for the Chinese painting which really excels by its unique accomplishments is painting of ndscape and of nature The best of Western landscapes ~ Corot s give us the same atmosphere and the same eling for nature

But in the portrayal of human forms the Chinese are deplorably backward For the human form is made subservient to the forms of nature If there is any apprecia tion of the female human form as such we see no traces of it in painting Ku K aichih s and Ch iu Shihchou s female forms suggest not the beauties of their bodies but the lines of the winds and the waves For this worship of the human body especially of the female body seems to me to be the most singular characteristic of Western art The most singular contrast between Chinese and Western art is the difference in the source of inspiration which is nature tself for the East and the female form for the West Nothing strikes a Chinese mind as being more grotesque than that a female figure should be labelled Contemplation or that a nude bathing girl should be made to represent September Morn To-day many Chinese are still unable to reconcile themselves to the fact

that Western civilization requires actual living models stripped and placed before one's eyes to be stared at daily for two hours at a time before one can learn even the first essentials of painting Of course there are also many Westerners who are willing only to hang Whistler's "My Mother" above their mantelpiece and who do not dare so much as contemplate a female figure called Contemplation There is still to-day a large proportion of English and American society who apologize for French pictures in their flats by saying that the room is rented furnished and who do not know what to do with a Viennese porcelain doll that some of their friends have presented them for Christmas They generally banish the whole topic from a conversation by calling these things art and the ones who made them crazy artists Nevertheless the fact remains that orthodox Western painting is Dionysian in its origin and inspiration and that the Western painter seems unable to see anything without a naked or nearly naked human body in it Whereas the Chinese painter symbolizes spring by a fat and well shaped partridge the Western painter symbolizes it by a dancing nymph with a faun chasing after her And whereas the Chinese painter can delight in the fine lines of a cicada's wings and in the full limbs of the cricket the grasshopper and the frog and the Chinese scholar can daily contemplate such pictures on his wall with continual delight the Western painter cannot be satisfied with anything less than Henner's *Liseuse* or *Madeleine*

This discovery of the human body is to day one of the most potent influences of Western civilization in China for it changes the whole outlook of life by changing the source of artistic inspiration In the final analysis this must be called a Greek influence The Renaissance revival of learning came with the Renaissance worship of the human body and its hearty avowal that life is beautiful A great part of the Chinese tradition is humanistic enough without any Greek influence but the proclamati that the human body is beautiful has been strangely la

ing in China Once however our eyes are opened to the beauty of the human body we are not likely to forget it This discovery of the human body and worship of the female form is bound to be a most potent influence be cause it is linked up with one of the strongest of human instincts that of sex In this sense we may say that Apol lonian art is being replaced by Dionysian art in China inasmuch as Chinese art is not being taught in most of the Chinese schools not even in most of the art schools They are all copying female anatomy from human models or from plaster figures of classical (Greek and Roman) sculpture It is useless to plead Platonic æstheticism in the worship of the nude for only effete artists can regard the human body with a passionless admiration and only effete artists will stoop to make the plea at all The worship of the human body is sensual and necessarily so Real European artists do not deny the fact but proclaim it The same accusation cannot be made against Chinese art But whether we will it or not the trend has set in and is not likely to be stopped

IV ARCHITECTURE

Nature is always beautiful but human architecture usually is not For unlike painting architecture is not ever an attempt to copy nature Architecture was originally a matter of stones and bricks and mortar piled together to give man shelter from wind and rain Its first princip was utility and is often purely so even to this day the unmitigated ugliness of the best modern factory build ings school houses theatres post offices railway s and rectilinear streets whose oppressiveness accounts the fact that we constantly feel the need to escape to country For the greatest difference between nature and these products of the human mind is the infinite rich of nature and the extreme limitations of our ingenuity The best human mind cannot invent anything best block houses with a few conventional mouldings

rotunda here and a triangular gable there Th m t im pressive mausoleum or memorial c nn t c mpare with the inventiveness of the trees even the mutilated and di infected trees that line the avenues of ur main streets when we remember to put them there Yet how nature dares! If these trees with their rouch surfac and irregular shapes had been the products of a human architect we would have consigned the architect to an insane a ylum Nature even dares to paint the trees green We are afraid of irregularity We are afraid even of colour And we have therefore invented the word drab to describe our own existence

Why is it that with all the fertility of the human mind we have not succeeded in producing anything less oppres sive than terrace houses and modern pavements and rec tilinear streets from which we have to seek perennial escape by going to summer resorts? Utility is the answer But utility is not art The modern industrial age has aggravated the situation especially with the invention of reinforced concrete This is a symbol of the industrial age and it will live as long as the modern industrial civil ization lasts Most of the concrete buildings have for gotten even to put on a roof because we are told the roof is useless Some have even profes,ed to see an in spiring beauty in the New York skyscrapers If so I have not seen any Their beauty is the beauty of gold they are beautiful because they suggest the power of millions They express the spirit of the industrial age

Yet because we have to look at the houses we build for ourselves every day and have to spend most of our days in them and becau e bad architecture can cramp the style of our living there is a very human demand to make it beautiful Very subtly the houses change the face of our towns and cities A roof is not just a roof to shelter us from sun and rain but something that affects our con ception of a home A door is not just an opening to get inside but should be the open sesame that leads us the mysteries of people s domestic lives After

makes some difference whether we knock at a drab coloured house door or at a vermilion painted gate with golden nobs on it

The problem is how to make the bricks and alive and speak the language of beauty How can we inform it with a spirit and make it say something to us European cathedrals are informed with a spirit and speak a silent language of the greatest beauty and sublimity to us? Let us see how the best of Chinese architecture tried to solve this problem

Chinese architecture seems to have developed along line different from that of the West Its main tendency is to seek harmony with nature In many cases it has succeeded in so doing It has succeeded because it took its inspiration from the sprig of plum blossoms—translated first into the moving living lines of calligraphy and secondarily into the lines and forms of architecture It has supplemented this by the constant use of symbolic motives And it has through the prevalent superstition of geomancy introduced the element of pantheism which compels regard for the surrounding landscape Its essential spirit is the spirit of peace and contentment with its best product in the private home and garden Its spirit does not like the Gothic spires aspire to heaven but broods over the earth and is contented with its lot While Gothic cathedrals suggest the spirit of sublimity Chinese temples and palaces suggest the spirit of serenity

Unbelievable as it seems the influence of calligraphy comes in even in Chinese architecture This influence is seen in the bold use of skeleton structures like pillars and roofs in the hatred of straight dead lines notably in the evolution of the sagging roof and in the general sense of form and proportion and grace and severity of temples and palaces

The problem of revealing or concealing skeleton structures is exactly similar to the problem of touch in painting Just as in Chinese painting the outlining strokes, instead of serving merely to indicate the contour of shapes

f things acquire a bold freedom of their own so in
hinese architecture the pillars in walls or rafters and
eams in roofs instead of being hidden in shame are
ankly glorified and become important elements in giving
ructural form to the buildings In Chinese buildings the
hole structural framework is as it were purposefully
vealed in full to us We simply like to see these struc
ral lines as indicating the basic pattern of the building
s we like to see the rhythmic sketches of outline in paint
g which stand for the substance of objects for us For
at reason the wooden framework is usually revealed in
ouse walls and the rafters and beams are left visible
oth inside and outside the house

This arises from a well known principle in calligraphy
e principle of framework or *chienchia* Among the
rious strokes of a character we usually choose a hori
ntal or a vertical stroke or sometimes an enveloping
uare which is regarded as giving support to the rest
d this stroke we must make powerfully and make longer
ore obvious than the others Having obtained support
this main stroke the other strokes will cluster round it
take their point of departure from it Even in the
sign of a group of buildings there is a principle of *axis*
there is an axis in most Chinese characters The whole
y planning of Peiping old Peking one of the most
autiful cities of the world is due very largely to an in
sible axis of several miles running north and south from
e outermost front gate right across the Emperor s
rone to the Coal Hill central pavilion and the Drum
wer behind This axis is clearly visible in the charac
for middle or *chung* 中 and in other characters
e 真 東 車 書 安

Perhaps more important than the principle of a straight
is is the use of curves wavy lines or irregular rhythmic
es to contrast with the straight lines This is most
arly seen in the Chinese roofs Every Chinese temple
palace building or mansion is based in its essence
on the combination or contrast of the straight vertic

lines of the pillars and the curved lines of the roof root itself contains a contrast between the straight h e the ridge and the sagging line below This is due to training in calligraphy in which we are taught that we have a straight main line which may be horiz vertical or slanting we must contrast it with curved soft broken lines around it The ridge of the roof furthermore broken by only a few decorative mot Only by the contrast of these lines are the straight of the pillars and the walls endurable If one sees examples of Chinese temples and dwelling houses notices that the roof forms the decorative point of phasis rather than the pillars or the walls (which do not exist in front)—the latter being proportiona small compared with the roof itself



A B C

THREE CHARACTERS BY CHENG HSIAOHSU PREMIER OF MAN HUKUO AND FAMOUS CALLIGRAPHIST

The origin of the famous roof line traced to calligraphy

The top of the characters A and B is a component Chinese writing signifying the roof Note the sag in the dle and the sweeping effect given by Chinese roofs. The of character C signifies man but resembles the upper of a roof Note also the sweeping gesture and the upward at the lower ends.

Note further the principle of structure involved and appl Chinese architecture Note the rigid vertical line (the pillar) "A contrasted with the curve in the roof and with o horizontal strokes attached to it Note in B the central curve with the other strokes clustering around a point at its and strangely balancing one another

The origin of the sagging roof probably the most unique and obvious characteristic of Chinese architecture has never been properly understood Some imagine a connection with the primitive tents of our nomadic days And yet the reason for it is obvious in calligraphy No one who knows the elements of Chinese calligraphy can fail to see the principle of gracefully sweeping lines In Chinese calligraphy the greatest difficulty is to bring about strength of stroke as it is always difficult to give strength to a perfectly straight stroke On the other hand a slight bent on either side will give it immediately a feeling of tension It is only necessary to point to the graceful sa, in the radical signifying a roof in Chinese characters to see that this is no mere imagination of the author

Our love for rhythmic or wavy lines or broken lines and our hatred of straight dead lines become obvious when it is remembered that we have never perpetrated anything quite as ugly as the Cleopatra s Needle Some modern Chinese architect has perpetrated a Western styled light house shaped thing called the West Lake Exhibition Memorial and it stands there amidst the beauties of West Lake like a sore on a beauty s face causing all sorts of eye troubles when one looks at it too long

It would be easy to give examples of our devices to break straight dead lines The best classic example is perhaps the balustraded round bridge The round bridge harmonizes with nature because it is in a curve and because it is balustraded Its spans are not as long and its balustrades not as useful as the steel trusses of the Brooklyn Bridge but no one can deny that it suggests less human cleverness and more beauty Consider also the pagoda and how its entire beauty derives from the fact that its outline is broken by a succession of projecting roofs especially those end lines that curl upward like the slanting strokes of Chinese writing Consider also the peculiar pair of stone pillars outside the Tienanmen at Peiping Nothin, is more striking than the wavy li symbol of cloud ... horizontally across the top

each pillar resulting in a form unparalleled in audacity even in Chinese art The pillars themselves have a wavy surface whatever the pretext may be It happens that waves represent clouds but this is an artistic pretext to introduce rhythm into the surface The stone pillars of the Temple of Confucius bear too the wavy lines of t entwining dragons Because the wavy lines of the dragon body help to break the straight lines we find the ‹ _ constantly used as a useful decorative motive apart from its symbolic value

Everywhere we try to catch and incorporate the natural rhythm of nature and imitate its irregularity The spi underlying it all is still the spirit of animism in calligraphy We break the lines of window bars by using green glazed tiles of the bamboo pattern We dare to use round and oblong and vase shaped doors to break the monotony of the straight walls Our windows are of as many shapes as the small cakes of Western pastry imitating a banan leaf or a peach or a double curved melon or a fan L. Liweng poet dramatist and epicure was responsible introducing the branch inlaid windows and partitions The outline of the window is usually straight Along this out line however he introduced a branch shaped carving to give the effect of a living branch stretched across the window The device is applied to partitions bedposts and other types of lattice work And lastly the use of rockery is probably the clearest example of our efforts to introduce into human architecture the natural irregular lines of nature

In other words we see everywhere in Chinese architec ture an effort to seek relief from straight lines through some form of irregularity suggestive of animal and plant forms This leads to a consideration of the use of symbol ism The bat for instance is very much used as a de corative motive because its curved wings are capable of so many variations in design but also because it is a homonym for good luck The symbol is the language

of the primitive and the child mind It is something that every Chinese woman and child can understand

But symbolism has further the virtue of containing within a few conventional lines the thought of the ages and the dreams of the race It kindles our imagination and leads us into a realm of wordless thought like the Christian cross or the Soviet hammer and sickle For such racial thoughts are so big and so enormous that we cannot convey them in words A Chinese pillar goes up in perfect simplicity and then when it reaches the top and loses itself in a riot of brackets and cornices and bars we like to see there as we look up a pair of mandarin ducks or a grasshopper or an ink slab and a brush As we look up at the mandarin ducks which always go in pairs in wedded bliss our thoughts are turned to woman s love and as we look at the ink slab and the brush we think of the quiet scholar in his study There painted in green and blue and gold are the grasshoppers and the crickets and the mandarin ducks and it is as much hap piness as we dare to dream of in this earthly life Some times we paint landscapes and sometimes we paint the pleasures of home life for these are the two eternal themes of Chinese painting

The dragon is the most honoured animal in China being a symbol of the Emperor who always had the best of everything It is most used in art as a decorative motive partly because the twining body of the dragon contains in itself such a perfect rhythm combining grace with power I daresay we would have used the snake also had it not been for the fact that the dragon as a decorative motive had a profounder meaning besides having those beautiful claws and horns and beards which are always so useful in breaking monotony The dragon represents other world liness the fugitive or *yi* principle we have mentioned before and it represents great Taoist wisdom for it often hides itself among clouds and seldom reveals its whc self For so is the great Chinaman Perfect in w and in power he yet often chooses to conceal him

could descend to the depths of mountain ponds as could rise to the clouds Beneath the dark waters of the deep pond we cannot see any trace of his existence but when he rises like Chuko Liang he convulses the whole world For floods in China are always caused by the movements of the dragon and sometimes we can s him swooping up to heaven in a column of clouds amidst thunder and lightning tearing up houseroofs and uprooting old banyan trees Why then should we not worship the dragon the embodiment of power and wisdom?

But then the dragon is not a purely mythological antediluvian entity To the Chinese the mountains and rivers are alive and in many of the winding ridges mountains we see the dragon s back and where the mountains gradually descend and merge into the plain or sea we see the dragon s tail That is Chinese pantheism the basis of Chinese geomancy Thus although geomancy is undeniably a superstition it has a great spiritual and architectural value Its superstition consists in the beli that by placing one s ancestors tombs in a beautiful scenery overlooking those dragon mountains and lion hills one can bring good luck and prosperity to the dead man s descendants If the location and the landscape scenery are truly unique if for instance five dragons and five tigers unite in making homage to the tomb it is almost inevitable that one descendant of the line should found an imperial dynasty or at least become a premier

But the basis of the superstition is a pantheistic enjoyment of landscape and geomancy sharpens our eyes beauty We then try to see in the lines of mountains general topography the same rhythm we see in animal forms Everywhere we turn nature is alive Its rhythmic lines sweep east and west and converge toward a certain point Again in the beauties of the mountains and river and general topography we see not a beauty of static proportions but a beauty of movement A curve is appreciated less because it is a curve than because it is a

sweeping gesture and a hyperbola is more appreciated than a perfect circle

The æsthetics of Chinese geomancy has therefore a very close bearing on Chinese architecture in the broad sense of the word It compels discrimination of the setting and the landscape By the side of an ancestral grave of one of my friends there was a little pool The pool was regarded as propitious because it was interpreted as a dragon s eye And when the pool was dried up the family lost its fortune As a matter of fact the pool set at one side a distance below the grave was æsthetically an important element in the general setting of the grave balancing a line on the other side in a subtly beautiful manner It was indeed like the last dot put on the picture of a dragon representing its eye and making the whole picture alive In spite of the superstition and occasional bitter family feuds or clan wars caused by it as when someone builds a structure to obstruct the perfect sweep and rhythm of line enjoyed from the point of the grave or the ancestral hall or someone digs a ditch somewhere and therefore breaks the neck of the dragon and dispels all hopes of the family s rise to power —in spite of all this I wonder very much whether geomancy has not contributed more to the richness of our æsthetic life than it has hindered our knowledge of geology

For the last and most important element of Chinese architecture always remains its essential harmony with nature In a way the setting is more important than the jewel Architecture that is perfect in itself but does not fit into the landscape can only jar us by its disharmony and by its violent self assertion which we call bad taste The best architecture is that which loses itself in the natural landscape and becomes one with it belongs to it This principle has guided all forms of Chinese architecture from the camel back bridge to the pagoda the temple and the little open pavilion on the edge of a pond Its lines should soothe but not obtrude Its roofs should nestle

quietly beneath the kind shade of trees and soft boughs should gently brush its brow The Chinese roof does not shout out loud and does not point its fingers at heaven It only shows peace and bows in modesty before the firmament It is a sign of the place where we humans live and it suggests a certain amount of decency by covering up our human habitations For we always remember to put a roof on *all* our houses and do not allow them to stare at heaven in their unashamed nakedness like modern concrete buildings

The best architecture is that in which we are not made to feel where nature ends and where art begins For this, the use of colour is of supreme importance The terra cotta walls of the Chinese temple merge harmoniously into the purple of the mountain sides and its glazed roofs laid in green Prussian blue purple or golden yellow mingle with the red autumn leaves and the blue sky to give us a harmonious whole And we stand and look at it from a distance and call it beautiful

Chapter Nine

THE ART OF LIVING

I THE PLEASURES OF LIFE

WE do not know a nation until we know its pleasures of life just as we do not know a man until we know how he spends his leisure It is when a man ceases to do the things he has to do and does the things he likes to do that his character is revealed It is when the repressions of society and business are gone and when the goads of money and fame and ambition are lifted and man s spirit wanders where it listeth that we see the inner man his real self Life is harsh and politics is dirty and commerce is sordid so that it would often be unfair to judge a man by his public life For this reason I find so many

of our political scoundrels are such lovable human beings and so many of our futile bombastic college presidents extremely good fellows at home In the same way I think the Chinese at play are much more lovable than the Chinese in business Whereas the Chinese in politics are ridiculous and in society are childish at leisure they are at their best They have so much leisure and so much leisurely joviality This chapter of their life is an open book for anyone who cares to come near them and live with them to read There the Chinese are truly themselves and at their best because there they show their best characteristic geniality

Given extensive leisure what do not the Chinese do? They eat crabs drink tea taste spring water sing operatic airs fly kites play shuttle-cock match grass blades make paper boxes solve complicated wire puzzles play *mahjong* gamble and pawn clothing stew *ginseng* watch cock fights romp with their children water flowers plant vegetables graft fruits play chess take baths hold conversations keep cage birds take afternoon naps have three meals in one guess fingers play at palmistry gossip about fox spirits go to operas beat drums and gongs play the flute practise on calligraphy munch duck gizzards salt carrots fondle walnuts fly eagles feed carrier pigeons quarrel with their tailors go on pilgrimages visit temples climb mountains watch boatraces hold bullfights take aphrodisiacs smoke opium gather at street corners shout at aeroplanes fulminate against the Japanese wonder at the white people criticize their politicians read Buddhist classics practise deep breathing hold Buddhist seances consult fortune tellers catch crickets eat melon seeds gamble for moon-cakes hold lantern competitions burn rare incense eat noodles solve literary riddles train pot flowers send one another birthday presents kow tow to one another produce children and sleep

For the Chinese have always had geniality jovi aste and finesse The great majority still keep

living In the case of China with the spirit of humanism which makes man the centre of all things and human happiness the end of all knowledge this emphasis on the art of living is all the more natural But even without humanism an old civilization must have a different standard of values for it alone knows the durable pleasures of life which are merely matters of the senses food drink house garden women and friendship That is what life comes to in its essence That is why in old cities like Paris and Vienna we have good chefs good wine beautiful women and beautiful music After a certain point human intelligence struck a blind alley and tired of asking questions took again the vine for its spouse in the Khayyam manner Any nation therefore that does not know how to eat and enjoy living like the Chinese is uncouth and uncivilized in our eyes

In the works of Li Liweng (seventeenth century) there is an important section devoted to the pleasures of life which is a vade mecum of the Chinese art of living from the house and garden interior decorations partitions to women s toilet coiffures the art of applying powder and rouge on to the art of cooking and directions for the *gourmet* and finally to the ways of securing pleasure for the rich man and the poor man and in all the four seasons the methods of banning worry regulating sex life preventing and curing illness ending in the unique division of medicine into the very sensible three categories medicine that one likes by temperament medicine that is needed by the moment and medicine that one loves and longs for This chapter alone contains more wisdom regarding medical advice than a whole college course of medicine This epicure dramatist for he was a great comic poet spoke of what he knew Some instances of his thorough understanding of the art of living are given here as showing the essential Chinese spirit

Thus Li Liweng wrote about Willows in his intensely human study of different flowers and trees and the art of enjoying them

The important thing about willows is that their branches hang down for if they did not hang down they would not be willows It is important that the branches be long for otherwise they cannot sway gracefully in the wind What then would be the use of their hanging down? This tree is a place where the cicadas love to rest as well as the birds It is to the credit of this tree that we often hear music in the air and cannot feel lonely in summer Especially is this the case with tall willow trees In short the planting of trees is not only to please the eye but also to please the ear as well The pleasure of the eye is sometimes limited because we are lying down on a bed On the other hand the ear can take its pleasure all the time The most lovely notes of the birds are not heard when we are sitting but when we are lying down Everyone knows that the birds songs should be heard at dawn but does not know why they should be heard at dawn as people do not think about it The birds are continually afraid of the shooting gun and after seven o clock in the morning all the people are up and the birds no longer feel at ease Once they are on their guard they can never sing whole heartedly and even if they sing their song cannot be beautiful That is why daytime is not the proper time for listening to the birds At dawn the people are not up yet with the exception of a few early risers Since the birds are then free from worry naturally they can finish their song at ease Besides their tongues have been lying idle for the whole night and are now itching to try their skill Consequently when they sing they sing with the full gladness of their hearts Chuangtse was not a fish and could understand the happiness of the fish Liweng is not a bird and can understand the happiness of the birds All singing birds should regard me as their bosom friend There are many points about the of trees but there is one point which is an to the cultivated When the tree leaves 100

shut out the moonlight like shutting off a beauty from our view The trees cannot be held guilty of this because it is the men who are at fault If we could spend a thought on this point at the time of planting trees and allow a corner of the sky to be shown behind them in order to wait for the rising and setting of the moon we could then receive its benefits both at night and day

Again we see some very good sense in his advice on women s dress

The important thing about women s dress is not fineness of material but neatness not gorgeous beauty but elegance not that it agrees with her family standing but that it agrees with her face If you take a dress and let several women try it on in succession you will see that it agrees with some and not with others because the complexion must harmonize with the dress If a wealthy lady s face does not agree with rich patterns but agrees with simple colours and she should insist on having rich patterns would not her dress be the enemy of her face? Generally one whose complexion is white and soft and whose figure is light and round will be shown to advantage in any dress Light colours will show her whiteness but deep colours will still better show her whiteness Dresses of fine material will show her delicacy but dresses of coarse material will still better show her delicacy But how few women are of this type? The average woman must choose her dress and must not take any kind of material

When I was young I remember the young girls used to wear shades of pink and the older women used to wear mauve and later scarlet was changed for pink and blue was substituted for mauve and still later scarlet gave place to purple and blue gave place to green After the change of the dynasty [beginning of Manchu regime] both green and purple disappeared and both young and old women changed into black

Then Li Liweng went [illegible] black his favourite colour [illegible] and all ages and how among the [illegible] wear a dress longer [illegible] the rich they could wear beautiful [illegible] that when the wind blew the beautiful [illegible] be revealed underneath leaving a great deal [illegible] gination

Again in the essay on Sleep there is a beautiful section on the art of taking afternoon naps

The pleasure of an afternoon nap is double that of sleep at night This is especially to be recommended for summer but not for the other three seasons This is not because I am favouring summer but because a summer day is twice as long as a winter day and a summer night is not equal to half a winter night If a man rests only at night in summer that means he is spending one-quarter of his time in recuperating and three quarters in working How can a man's energy last under this arrangement? Besides the summer heat is intensive and naturally brings about fatigue It is as natural to go to sleep in fatigue as to eat when hungry or to drink when thirsty This is the soundest of all hygiene After the midday meal he should wait a while until the food is digested and then pace near the bed gradually He should not have the idea of being determined to sleep for if one sleeps with that idea the sleep is not sweet He should first attend to something and before the thing is done a drowsiness comes over him and the people of the dreamland come to beckon him and he arrives at the fairy place without any effort or consciousness of his own I like a line from an old verse

My hands when weary throw the book away and the afternoon nap is long When you hold a bo[illegible] your hand you have no idea of going to sleep when you throw it away you have no idea of any reading [illegible]

sciousness and without any effort This is the alpha and omega of the art of sleeping

When mankind knows the art of sleeping as Li Liweng describes it then mankind may truly call itself civilized

II House and Garden

Some of the principles of Chinese architecture have already been explained in the discussion on this subject The Chinese house and garden however present a more intricate aspect that deserves special attention The principle of harmony with nature is carried further for in the Chinese conception the house and garden are not separate but are parts of an organic whole as evidenced in the phrase *yuanchch* or garden home A house and a garden can never become an organic whole so long as we have a square building surrounded by a own tennis lawn The word for garden here does ot suggest a lawn and geometric flower beds but a patch of earth where one can plant vegetables and fruits and sit under the shade of trees The Chinese conception of the home requires that the home with a well a poultry yard and a few date trees must be able to arrange itself commodiously in space And given commodious space in ancient China as in all rural civilizations the house itself dwindles to a comparatively less important position in the general scheme of the home garden

Human civilization has changed so much that space is something that the average man cannot own and cannot have We have gone so far that a man is entirely complacent when he owns a *mow* of civilized lawn in the midst of which he succeeds in digging a five foot pond to keep his goldfish and making a mound that would not take ants five minutes to crawl to the top This has changed entirely our conception of the home There is no more poultry yard no well and no place where one s children can catch crickets and get comfortably dirty Instead our home becomes physically like a pigeon s house

called an apartment with a combination of buttons switches cabinets rubber mats Kelvinator wires and burglar alarms which we call a home There are no attics no dirt and no spiders Our perversion of the idea of a home has gone so far that some Western people are even proud of the fact that they sleep on a bed which is the back of a daytime sofa They show it to their friends and marvel at modern technological civilization The modern spiritual home is broken up because the physical home has disappeared as Edward Sapir pointed out People move into a three room flat and then wonder why they can never keep their children at home

The average poor Chinese in the country has more space of his own than a New York professor But there are Chinese living in cities as well and not all of them own huge gardens Art consists in doing with what one has on hand and still allowing for human fancies to come in and break the monotony of blank walls and cramped backyards Shen Fu (middle eighteenth century) author of the *Fousheng Liuchi* outlines in this tender little book which reflects the best spirit of Chinese culture how even a poor scholar can manage to have a beautiful house From the principle of irregularity in Chinese architecture we develop with intricate human fancies the principle of concealment and surprise as capable of infinite development in the designing of the rich man s country villa as in that of the poor scholar s dwelling house In *Fousheng Liuchi* (*Six Chapters of a Floating Life*) we find an important statement of this principle With this formula we can according to the author make even a poor scholar s house artistically satisfying This principle is stated in the formula that we should show the large in the small and the small in the large provide for the real in the unreal and for the unreal in the real Shen Fu says

As to the planning of garden pavilions and towers of winding corridors and outhouses and in the designing of rockery or the training of flower trees one should try to show the small in the large and the la

in the small and provide for the real in the unreal and for the unreal in the real One reveals and conceals alternately making it sometimes apparent and sometimes hidden This is not just rhythmic irregularity nor does it depend on having a wide space and a great expenditure of labour and material Pile up a mound with earth dug from the ground and decorate it with rocks mixed with flowers use live plum branches for your fence and plant creepers over the walls Thus there will be a hill in a place which is without hills In the big open spaces plant bamboos that grow quickly and train plum trees with thick branches to cover them This is to show the small in the large When the courtyard is small the wall should be a combination of convex and concave shapes decorated with green covered with ivy and inlaid with big slabs of stone with inscriptions on them Thus when you open your window you seem to face a rocky hillside alive with rugged beauty This is to show the large in the small Contrive so that an apparently blind alley leads suddenly into an open space and the kitchen leads through a backdoor into an unexpected courtyard Thus is to provide for the real in the unreal Let a door lead into a blind courtyard and conceal the view by placing a few bamboo trees and a few rocks Thus you suggest something which is not there Place low balustrades along the top of a wall so as to suggest a roof garden which does not exist This is to provide for the unreal in the real Poor scholars who live in crowded houses should follow the method of the boatmen in our native district who make clever arrangements with their limited space on the bows of their boats making certain modifications When my wife and I were staying at Yangchow we lived in a house of only two rooms but (by such arrangements) the two bedrooms the kitchen and the parlour were all arranged with an exquisite effect and we did not feel the cramping of space Yun once said laughingly to me 'The arrangements are exquisite

enough, but after all it lacks the atmosphere of a rich man's house." It was so indeed.

Let us follow for a while these two careless creatures, a poor Chinese scholar and his artistic wife, and see how they try to squeeze the last drop of happiness from a poor and sorrow-laden life, always fearful of the jealousy of the gods and afraid that their happiness may not last.

Once I visited my ancestral tombs on a hill and found some pebbles of great beauty with faint tracings on them. On coming back I talked it over with Yun and said, "People mix putty with Hsuanchow stones in white stone basins because the colours of the two elements blend. The yellow pebbles of this hill, however, are different, and although they are very elegant, they will not blend in colour with putty. What can we do?" "Take some of the worse quality," said she, "and pound them into small pieces and mix them in the putty before it is dry, and perhaps when it is dry it will be of the same colour." So we did as she suggested, and used a rectangular Yihsing earthen pot, over which we piled up a mountain peak on the left coming down in undulations to the right. On its back we made rugged square lines like those in the painting of Ni Yunlin, so that the whole looked like a rocky precipice over hanging a river. On one side we made a hollow place which we filled with mud and on which we planted multileaf white duckweed. On the rocks we planted dodder. This took us quite a few days to finish. In late autumn the dodder grew all over the hill like wistarias hanging down from a rock. The red dodder flowers made a striking contrast to the white duckweed which had grown luxuriantly, too, from the pond underneath. Looking at it, one could imagine oneself transported to some fairy region. We put this under the eave
discussed between ourselves where we should
pavilion, where we should put a farmer's
where we should put a stone inscription. W

drop and waters flow And Yun further discussed with me where we could build our home where we could fish and where we would have to jump across all so absorbed as if we were moving into the little imaginary universe to live One night two cats were fighting for food and it fell down from the eaves broken into pieces basin and all I sighed and said The gods seem to be jealous even of such a little effort of our own And we both shed tears

What distinguishes a home from a public building is the personal touch that we give it and the time and thought we spend on it Home designs and interior decorations are not something that we can buy outright from an architect or a first class firm and it is only when this spirit of leisure and tender loving care exists that living at home can become an art and a pleasure Both Shen Fu and Li Liweng show this tender love for the small things of life and give ingenious advice on the training flowers the arrangement of flowers in vases the use of courtyards the art of perfuming the art of making windows look out on a superb view that could go into a painting the hanging of scrolls the arrangement of chairs including Li Liweng s invention of a heated desk with charcoal burning underneath so as to keep the feet warm in winter It would be manifestly impossible to go into all these details of interior decoration Suffice it to say that in the arrangement of courtyards and the scholars studios and in the arrangement of vases the essential idea is the beauty of simplicity Many of the scholars studies are made to look out on a small clean courtyard which is the very embodiment of quietude itself In the middle of that courtyard stand just two or three of those rhythmic and perforated rocks bearing the mark of sea waves or some rare specimens of fossilized barks and a small bush of bamboos which are so loved because of the fineness of their lines Perhaps in the wall is a fan shaped window with glazed tiles in bamboo pattern as bars giving just

the merest suggest n of the exi t n e f w rl f ect felds and farmers houses ut d

The principle of surprise wl Sh F utl n d f r the poor scholar s small re den h l x d a n l man s home garden The Engl l d r l g ves an entirely erroneous ide f the Ch for gard n suggests a la vn and nfi f fl ers altogether too prim and t dy t su t Ch n The Ch nese *yua i* suggests first f all a w ld landscape per haps better arranged and m re art st ally plann d than nature but still a b t of nature self w th trees m unds creeks br dges a row ng b n a patcl f vegetable fields fru t trees and some fl vers D tted in th natural land scape are the human str t res the br dges pav l ons long w nd ng corridors irregular r ckere and sweep ng roofs s perfectly belong ng t the scenery as to become a whole w th it There are n even cut hedges no per fectly c n cal or c rcular trees no symmetr rows l n ng avenues as if in battle forn at on and no stra ght pave ments—none of all those elements that contr bute to make Versa lles so ugly in Ch ne e eyes E erywl ere we see curves irregular ty conc alment and suggest on

No Ch nese mans on allow an uts der to look through the ron gates at a long dri e f r that ould be against the pr nc ple of concealment Fac ng the gate we see perhaps a small courtyard r a mound g ving no dea whatsoever of the expansiveness of space ns de and lead ing one step by step into newer and b gger v e vs n a cont nual ser es of surpr ses and ton shn ents For we w sh to show the small n the large and sho v the large n the small There s l ttle possib l ty of ga n ng a b rd s eye v ew of the whole at a glance and if there were there would be noth ng left for the imag nat on The Ch nes garden is characterized by st d ed d sorderl ness wh ch alone can g ve the feel ng of the nfin te and make one imag ne the garden to be larger than it s

There is someth ng amount ng to rel g ous fervour sacred devot on when a cult vated r ch Chinese

begins planning for his garden The account of Chi Piauchia (1602 1645) is interesting as showing this spirit

In the beginning I wanted to build only four or five rooms and some friends told me where I should build a pavilion and where I should build a summer house I did not think seriously of these suggestions but after a while these ideas would not let me alone and it seemed indeed I should have a pavilion here and a summer house there Before I had finished the first stage new ideas forced themselves upon me and they chased after me in all out of the way places and sometimes they came to me in my dreams and a new vista opened before my imagination Hence my interest grew more and more intense every day and I would go to the garden early in the morning and come back late at night and leave any domestic business to be attended to under the lamplight Early in the morning while resting on my pillow I saw the first rays of the morn and got up and asked my servant to go with me on a boat and although it was only a mile off I was impatient to get to the place This continued through winter and summer rain or shine and neither the biting cold nor the scorching sun could restrain me from it for there was not a single day when I was not out on the spot Then I felt under my pillow and knew my money was gone and felt annoyed over it But when I arrived at the spot I wanted always more and more stones and material Hence for the last two years my purse is always empty and I have been ill and got well again and fallen ill again There are two halls three pavilions four corridors two towers and three embankments In general where there is too much space I put in a thing where it is too crowded I take away a thing where things cluster together I spread them out where the arrangement is too diffuse I tighten it a bit where it is difficult to walk upon I level it and where it is level I introduce a little unevenness It is like a good doctor curing a patient using both nourishing and

excitative medicines or l ke a g d a al d us ng both normal and surp a \ \ a master painter at his v ork n t l a l laa stroke or l ke a great wr ter w par mitting a s ngle unharmon us n

Harmony irregular tv surpr se n c l u es tion—these are some of the pr nc p f C i n p anting as tl ey are of otl er f rn s f Cl n

III Eating and Dr nking

The question has often been k d s wl at e eat The answer is that we eat all h d ble th nes on this earth We eat crabs by prefer n n t of en eat barks by necessity Econom c necess h n h f ur n ventions in food We are too r pc pula ed and f m ne is too common for us not to eat c ery l ng w n lay our hands on And it stands t reas n tl t n h p tively exhaust ve experiment on ed bles we should ha c stumbl ed upon important d scover es as m t sc ent f c or medi cal d scoveries have been stumbled upon F r one th ng we have discovered the mag c ton c and bu ld ng qual t es of *ginse ig* for wh ch I am w ll ng to g ve personal testi mony as to its be ng the most endur ng and n ost energy g v ng ton c known to mankind d st ngu shed by the slow ness and gentleness of its action But apart from such accidental d scover es of med cal or cul nary importance we are undoubtedly the only truly omn vorous an mals on earth and so long as our teeth last ve should con t nue to occupy that pos t on Some day a dent st w ll yet discover that we have the best teeth as a nat on Gifted w th these teeth and dr ven by fam ne there s no eason why we should not at some particular t me of our nat onal l fe suddenly d scover that roasted beetles and fried bees chrysal s are great delicac es The only thi we have not d scovered and w ll not eat is cheese Mongols could not persuade us to eat cheese Europeans do not have a greater chance of do ng

It is useless to use logical reasoning in the matter of our food which is determined by prejudices. On both sides of the Atlantic Ocean two shellfish are common, the soft shelled clam *Mya arenaria* and the edible mussel *Mytilus edulis*. The species of these two molluscs are the same on both sides of the water. In Europe mussels are eaten freely but not clams, while the reverse is the case on the American side, according to the authority of Dr Charles W Townsend (*Scientific Monthly*, July 1928). Dr Townsend also mentions the fact that flounders fetch high prices in England and in Boston but are considered "not fit to eat" by Newfoundland villagers. We eat mussels with the Europeans and eat clams with the Americans, but we don't eat oysters raw as the Americans do. It is useless, for instance, for anybody to convince me that snake's meat tastes like chicken. I have lived in China forty years without eating a snake or seeing any of my relatives do so. Tales of eating snakes travel faster than tales of eating chicken, but actually we eat more chickens and better chickens than the white people, and snake eating is as much a curiosity to the Chinese as it is to the foreigners.

All one can say is that we are very catholic in our tastes, and that any rational man can take anything off a Chinese table without any qualm of conscience. What famine dictates is not for us human mortals to choose. There is nothing that a man will not eat when hard pressed by hunger. And no one is entitled to condemn until he knows what famine means. Some of us have been forced in times of famine to eat babies—and even this must be humanly rare—but, thank God, we do not eat them raw as the English eat their beef!

If there is anything we are serious about, it is neither religion nor learning, but food. We openly acclaim eating as one of the few joys of this human life. This question of attitude is very important, for unless we are honest about it we will never be able to lift eating and cooking into an art. The difference of attitude regarding the pro-

blem of food is represented in Europe by the French and the English The French eat enthusiastically while the English eat apologetically The Chinese nation undoubtedly leans toward the French in the matter of food In ourselves

The danger of not taking food seriously and allowing it to degenerate into a slipshod business may be studied in the English national life If they had known any taste for food their language would reveal it The English language does not provide a word for *cuisine* they call it just cooking They have no proper word for *chef* they just call him a cook They do not speak about their *menu* but know only what are called dishes And they have no word for *gourmet* they just call him Greedy Gut in their nursery rhymes The truth is the English do not admit that they have a stomach No stomach is fit for conversation unless it happens to be sick or aching The result is that while the Frenchman will talk about the *cuisine* of his *chef* with—what seems to the English mind —immodest gestures the Englishman can hardly venture to talk about the food of his cook without impairing the beauty of his language When hard pressed by his French host he might be willing to mutter between his teeth that that pudding is awfully good and there let the matter rest Now if a pudding is good it is good for some definite reasons and about these problems the Englishman does not bother himself All the English are interested in is how to strengthen themselves against influenza as with Bovril and save the doctor s bills

Now you cannot develop a national culinary art unless you are willing to discuss it and exchange your opinions on it The first condition of learning how to eat is to talk about it Only in a society wherein people of culture and refinement inquire after their cooks health instead of talking about the weather can the art of *cuisine* be developed No food is really enjoyed unless it is keenly cipated discussed eaten and then commented, Preachers should not be afraid to condemn a

from their pulpits and scholars should write essays on the culinary art as the Chinese scholars do Long before we have any special food we think about it rotate it in our minds anticipate it as a secret pleasure to be shared with some of our closest friends and write notes about it in our invitation letters like the following My nephew has just brought some special vinegar from Chinkiang and a real Nanking salted duck from Laoyuchai or this This is the end of June and if you don t come you won t taste another shad till next May Long before the autumn moon rises a real scholar like Li Liweng as he himself confesses would plan and save money for the crabs decide upon an historical place where he could have the crab dinner with his friends under the mid autumn moon or in a wilderness of chrysanthemums negotiate with some of his friends to bring wine from Governor Tuan Fang s lar and meditate upon it as the English meditate upon their champion sweepstakes number Only in this spirit can the matter of feeding ourselves be elevated into the level of an art

We are unashamed of our eating We have Su Tungp o pork and Kiang bean curd In England a Wordsworth steak or Galsworthy cutlet would be unimaginable Wordsworth sang about simple living and high thinking but he failed to note that good food especially fresh cut bamboo shoots and mushrooms counts among the real joys of a simple rural life The Chinese poets with a more utilitarian philosophy have frankly sung about the minced perch and *shun* vegetable soup of their native home This thought is regarded as so poetic that officials in their petition for resignation will say that they are thinking of *shun* vegetable as a most elegant expression Actually our love of fatherland is largely a matter of recollection of the keen sensual pleasures of our childhood The loyalty to Uncle Sam is the loyalty to American doughnuts and the loyalty to the *Vaterland* is the loyalty to *Pfannkuchen* and *Stollen* but the Americans and the Germans will not admit it Many Americans

while abroad sigh for their ham and [illegible] at home but they will not admit that th[illegible] mak[illegible] th[illegible]m think of home nor will they put it in th[illegible] try

The seriousness with which we re[illegible]rd [illegible] b[illegible] be shown in many ways Anyone wh[illegible] open[illegible] h[illegible] pages of the *Red Chamber Dream* or of any Chi[illegible] will be struck by the detailed and constant de[illegible] the entire *menu* of what Taiyu had for breakf[illegible] what Paoyu had at midnight Cheng Panch[illegible]ao ap[illegible] rice congee in his letter to his brother

> On cold days when poor relatives or friends arrive first hand them a bowl of fried rice in boiling water with a small dish of ginger or pickles It is the most effective means of warming up old people and the poor In your days of leisure swallow cakes made of broken rice or cook slipslop congee and hold the bowl between your two hands and eat it with shrugged shoulders On a cold frosty morning this will make your whole body warm Alas! Alas! I think I'll become a farmer for the remainder of my days!

The Chinese accept food as they accept sex women and life in general No great English poet or writer would condescend to write a Cook Book which they regard as belonging outside the realms of literature and worthy of the efforts of Aunt Susan only But the great poet-dramatist Li Liweng did not consider it beneath his dignity to write about the cooking of mushrooms and all kinds of vegetarian and non vegetarian foods Another great poet and scholar Yuan Mei wrote a whole book on cooking besides writing a most wonderful essay on his cook He described his cook as Henry James described the English butler as a man carrying himself with dignity and understanding in his profession But H G Wells who of all English minds is the one most likely to write about English

A striking fact is the frequency of words like [illegible] and belly in Chinese poetry e g "The [illegible] fresh and my rice bowl is too small the fish is [illegible] my wine [illegible]

food evidently cannot write it and no hope is to be expected from the less encyclopædic minds Anatole France was the type that might have left us some wonderful recipe for frying calf s liver or cooking mushrooms possibly in his intimate letters but I doubt very much whether he has left it as part of his literary heritage

Two principles distinguish Chinese from European cooking One is that we eat food for its *texture* the elastic or crisp effect it has on our teeth as well for fragrance flavour and colour Li Liweng said that he was a slave to crabs because they had the combination of fragrance flavour and colour The idea of texture is seldom understood but a great part of the popularity of bamboo shoots is due to the fine resistance the young shoots give to our teeth The appreciation of bamboo shoots is probably the most typical example of our taste Being not oily it has a certain fairy like fugitive quality about it But the most important principle is that it lends flavour to meat (especially pork) cooked with it and on the other hand it receives the flavour of the pork itself This is the second principle that of mixing of flavours The whole culinary art of China depends on the art of mixture While the Chinese recognize that many things like fresh fish must be cooked in their own juice in general they mix flavours a great deal more than Western cooks do No one for instance knows how cabbage tastes until he has tasted it when properly cooked with chicken and the chicken flavour has gone into the cabbage and the cabbage flavour has gone into the chicken From this principle of mixture any number of fine and delicate combinations can be developed Celery for instance may be eaten raw and alone but when Chinese see in a foreign dinner vegetables like spinach or carrots cooked separately and then served on the same plate with pork or roast goose they smile at the barbarians

The Chinese whose sense of proportion is so wonderfully acute in painting and architecture seem to have completely lost it in the matter of food to which they give

themselves whole heartedly when they seat themselves round a dinner table Any big course like the fat duck coming after twelve or thirteen other courses should be a sufficient meal in itself for any human being This is due to a false standard of courtesy and to the fact that as course after course is served during dinner the people are supposed to be occupied in different wine games or contests of poetry during the intervals which naturally lengthens the time required and gives more time for the stomach to assimilate the food Most probably the relatively lower efficiency of Chinese government officials is due directly to the fact that all of them are subjected to an inhuman routine of three or four dinners a night One-fourth of their food goes to nourish them and three fourths to kill them That accounts for the prevalence of rich men s ailments like diseases of the liver and the kidneys which are periodically announced in the newspapers when these officials see fit to retire from the political arena for reasons of convenience

Although the Chinese may learn from the West a great deal about a sense of proportion in arranging for feasts they have in this field as in medicine many famous and wonderful recipes to teach the Westerners In the cooking of ordinary things like vegetables and chickens the Chinese have a rich store to hand to the West when the West is ready and humble enough to learn it This seems unlikely until China has built a few good gun boats and can punch the West in the jaw when it will be admitted that we are unquestionably better cooks as a nation But until that time comes there is no use talking about it There are thousands of Englishmen in the Shanghai Settlement who have never stepped inside a Chinese restaurant and the Chinese are bad evangelists We never force salvation on anybody who does not come to ask for it We have no gun boats anyway and even if we had we would never care to go up the Thames or the Mississippi and shoot the English or the Americans into heaven against their will

As to drinks we are naturally moderate except as regarding tea Owing to the comparative absence of distilled liquor one very seldom sees drunkards in the streets But tea drinking is an art in itself It amounts with some persons almost to a cult There are special books about tea drinking as there are special books about incense and wine and rocks for house decoration More than any other human invention of this nature the drinking of tea has coloured our daily life as a nation and gives rise to the institution of tea houses which are approximately equivalents of Western cafes for the common people People drink tea in their homes and in the tea houses alone and in company at committee meetings and at the settling of disputes They drink tea before breakfast and at midnight With a teapot a Chinese is happy wherever he is It is a universal habit and it has no deleterious effect whatsoever except in very rare cases as in my native district where according to tradition some people have drunk themselves bankrupt This is only possible with extremely costly tea but the average tea is cheap and the average tea in China is good enough for a prince The best tea is mild and gives a back flavour which comes after a minute or two when its chemical action has set in on the salivary glands Such good tea puts everybody in good humour I have no doubt that it prolongs Chinese lives by aiding their digestion and maintaining their equanimity of temper

The selection of tea and spring water is an art in itself I give here an example of a scholar in the beginning of the seventeenth century Chang Tai who wrote thus about his art of tasting tea and spring water in which he was a great connoisseur with very few rivals in his time

Chou Molung often spoke to me in enthusiastic terms about the tea of Min Wenshui In September of a certain year I came to his town and when I arrived I called on him at Peach Leaves Ferry It was already afternoon and Wenshui was not at home He came back late and I found him to be an old man We had just

opened our conversation when he r se uddenly a c said that he had left his stick somewhere nd w nt ou again I was determined not to mi thi chan e I having a talk with him so I waited After a long while Wenshui came back when it w lready night and he stared at me saying Are you still her What do you want to see me for? I said I h v heard about your name so long and am determined t have a drink with you to-day before I go! Wenshui was pleased and then he rose to prepare the tea himself In a wonderfully short time it was ready Then he led me into a room where everything was neat and tidy and I saw over ten kinds of Chingch i pots and Hsuanyao and Ch engy io teacups which were all very rare and precious Under the lamplight I saw that the colour of the tea was not distinguishable from that of the cups but a wonderful fragrance assailed my nostrils and I felt ever so happy What is this tea? I asked Langwan Wenshui replied I tasted it again and said Now don t deceive me The method of prepara tion is Langwan but the tea leaves are not Langwan What is it then? asked Wenshui smilingly I tasted it again and said Why is it so much like Lochieh tea? Wenshui was quite struck by my answer and said Marvellous! Marvellous! What water is it? I asked Huich uan he said Don t try to make fun of me I said again How can Huich uan water be carried here over a long di tance and after the shaking on the way still retain its keenness? So Wenshui said I shan t try to deceive you any longer When I take Huich uan water I dig a well and wait at night until the new current comes and then take it up I put a lot of mountain rocks at the bottom of the jar and during the voyage I permit only s uling with the wind but no rowing Hence the water still keeps its edge This water is therefore better even than ordinary Huich uan water not to speak of water from c springs Ag in he id Marvellous! Mar

and before he had finished his sentence he went out again Soon *he came back with another pot* and asked me to taste it I said Its fragrance is strong and its flavour is very mild This must be spring tea while the one we just had must be autumn tea Then Wenshui burst into laughter and said I am a man of seventy and yet have never met a tea connoisseur like you After that we remained fast friends

That art is now almost gone except among a few old art lovers and connoisseurs It used to be very difficult to get good tea on the Chinese national railways even in the first class carriages where Lipton s tea probably the most unpalatable to my taste was served *with milk and sugar* When Lord Lytton visited Shanghai he was entertained at the home of a prominent rich Chinese He asked for a cup of Chinese tea and he could not get it He was served Lipton s with milk and sugar

But enough has been said to show that the Chinese in their moments of sanity know essentially how to live The art of living is with them a second instinct and a religion Whoever said that the Chinese civilization is a spiritual civilization is a liar

IV The End of Life

In the general survey of Chinese art and Chinese life the conviction must have been forced upon us that the Chinese are past masters in the art of living There is a certain wholehearted concentration on the material life a certain zest in living which is mellower perhaps deeper anyway just as intense as in the West In China the spiritual values have not been separated from the material values but rather help man in a keener enjoyment of life as it falls to our lot This accounts for our joviality and our incorrigible humour A heathen can have a heathenish devotion to the life of the present and envelop both spiritual and material values in one outlook which it is difficult for a Christian to imagine We live the life of the

senses and the life of the spirit at the same moment and see no necessary conflict For the human spirit is used to beautify life to extract its essence perhaps to help it overcome ugliness and pain inevitable in the world of our senses but never to escape from it and find its meaning in a life hereafter When Confucius said in reply to a question by a disciple on death Don t know life how know death? he expressed there a somewhat bourgeois unmetaphysical and practical attitude toward the problems of life and knowledge which has characterized our national life and thinking

This standpoint establishes for us a certain scale of values In every aspect of knowledge and of living the test of life holds It accounts for our pleasures and our antipathies The test of life was with us a racial thought wordless and needing no definition or giving of reasons It was that test of life which instinctively I think guided us to distrust civic civilization and uphold the rural ideal in art life and letters to dislike religion in our rational moments to play with Buddhism but never quite accept its logical conclusions and to hate mechanical ingenuity It was that instinctive trust in life that gave us a robust common sense in looking at life s kaleidoscopic changes and the myriad vexatious problems of the intellect which we rudely ignored It enabled us to see life steadily and see life whole with no great distortions of values It taught us some simple wisdom like respect for old age and the joys of domestic life acceptance of life of sex and of sorrow It made us lay emphasis on certain common virtues like endurance industry thrift moderation and pacificism It prevented the development of freakish extreme theories and the enslaving of man by the products of his own intelligence It gave us a sense of values and taught us to accept the material as well as the spiritual goods of life It taught us that after all is said and done human happiness is the end of all knowledge And we arrange ourselves to make our lives happy on this planet under whatever vicissitudes of fortune

ragrance of chrysanthemums and over the top there shines the autumn moon and we are content

For we are now in the autumn of our national life There comes a time in our lives as nations and as individuals when we are pervaded by the spirit of early autumn in which green is mixed with gold and sadness is mixed joy and hope is mixed with reminiscence There a time in our lives when the innocence of spring memory and the exuberance of summer a song whose oes faintly remain in the air when as we look out n the problem is not how to grow but how to live truly t how to strive and labour but how to enjoy the pre us moments we have not how to squander our energy how to conserve it in preparation for the coming nter A sense of having arrived somewhere of having ttled and found out what we want A ense of having hieved something also precious little compared with s past exuberance but still something like an autumn rest shorn of its summer glory but retaining such of as will endure

I like spring but it is too young I like summer but is too proud So I like best of all autumn because its aves are a little yellow its tone mellower its colours her and it is tinged a little with sorrow and a premoni on of death Its golden richness speaks not of the in cence of spring nor of the power of summer but of e mellowness and kindly wisdom of approaching age knows the limitations and its richness of experience richer than all its green speaking of golden n and death And w seems white with touches it with an ly An early moun ing leaves danc not know whether ter or of t of Early

Autumn the spirit of calm and wisdom and maturity which smiles at sorrow itself and praises the exhilarating keen cool air—the Spirit of Autumn so well expressed by Hsin Ch ichi

In my young days
  I had tasted only gladness
But loved to mount the top floor
But loved to mount the top floor
  To write a song pretending sadness

And now I ve tasted
  Sorrow s flavours bitter and sour
And can t find a word
And can t find a word
  But merely say What a golden autumn hour!

Chapter Ten

A PERSONAL STORY OF THE SINO JAPANESE WAR

I The Birth of a Nation

HINA has a great past Summing up a survey of the inese civilization and the Chinese way of life one sees tain distinctive achievements and certain characteristic ...lures of the Chinese people These achievements and failures of the Chinese way of life are made the more striking by contrast and comparison with the other civilizations To the ancient Chinese the Chinese civilization was not *a* civilization but *the* civilization and the Chinese way of life not *a* way but *the* way of life the only one conceivable by the mind of man The term Middle Kingdom as used in ancient texts meant the civilized part of the world in contrast with surrounding barbarians This was not arrogance but an objective fact ancient China was surrounded by barbarians and had not known

other civilizations comparable to its own. But the search-light of modern knowledge reveals it as but one way of life among many, puts its beauties into strong relief and shows up pitilessly its ugly corners. Under the glare of a scientifically progressive, industrially revolutionized but ideologically confused international world, some modern Chinese hide their faces in shame and others acquire a sense of exaggerated pride. Modern China began to think slowly, ponderously and painfully, and sometimes with confusion, but sometimes also with flashes of common sense. The whole process of transformation of modern China is but a prolonged process of slow, ponderous and painful thinking by an entire nation. The Chinese race begins to think what to do with itself and its own way of life.

For China is in the midst of a great historical epoch comparable to those great epochs in history, like that of the contact of the Roman world with Christianity, or that of Renaissance Italy or Elizabethan England, when man's mind was vouchsafed a new vision and his imagination was set free and inspired. Tales perhaps more marvellous than those brought back to Europe by Marco Polo about Cathay, or those brought back by Columbus about the Indians, were told of a new world, a new civilization and new races of men who had telescopes and priests, gun-boats and cathedrals, trains and public parks, libraries and museums, cameras and newspapers. Tales too of beef-eating, butter-smelling men with hair on their chests and golden-haired, blue-eyed and indecently dressed women. But tales also of republics and parliaments and constitutions, of liberty and equality, of government of the people, by the people and for the people. Lastly, tales of devilish weapons of destruction incomparably superior to any China had known.

China therefore for the first time saw a strange new civilization different from her own, from which she had things to learn. But China was in an isolationist mood, being economically and spiritually self-sufficient

warlord advocates of Confucianism of the generation that has to day almost died out one sees an amazing contrast in point of view One compares the soulless old carcasses governing Puppetia in Peiping—the ex warlord Chi Hsuehyuan the Anfu politician Wang Kehmin the long bearded literary Ex Commissioner of Imperial Metropolitan Gendarmerie Chiang Chaotsung and the scholarly collector of old editions Tung Kang—with the faces of communist youth in Edgar Snow s *Red Star Over China* or of Hunan girl soldiers marching on foot carrying rifles and knapsacks and one gets the impression that the two generations live in two different worlds Their spiritual profiles are as strikingly different as their physical profiles Three generations have completed a cycle of change from the stale and mouldy mandarin with his *apres nous le deluge* mentality to the nationally and internationally conscious flaming youth of to day

For this is the story of the birth of a nation in four decades Out of a civilization grew a nation Yet the word nation as used here has a pathetic tone about it China was a civilization more than a nation In the best sense of the word only was China a nation a political group of homogeneous people permeated by a homogeneous culture having a common language a common history a common literature and a common belief in certain spiritual values It was not however a fighting nation organized by railways and radios and propaganda bureaus and equipped and armed for carrying on or resisting international aggression It was merely a sprawling mass of humanity trying to live out their individual lives and nobody could question their right to do so For living in the present decade of upsets of all values in an internationally chaotic world when words no longer say what they mean nor respectable statesmen mean what they say when the most barbaric states can be called nations while civilized democracies which desire to live in peace are forced to arm themselves and fight their fellow men in other countries or be threatened with national extinc

tion when the right of a nation to exist is measured by the diameter of its guns and the speed of its bombers an intelligent man can seriously question the benefit of being ushered into the family of nations to which China is now being introduced and in which she is now winning a place

This emergence of China in the family of nations is no hey-day visit with a newly discovered relative in the coun try no romance of adventure into a blessed Utopia of peace and prosperity but the return of the Prodigal Son to a *family* of brother robbers brawling and squalling among themselves and he is greeted by drawn daggers at the entrance Pass that entrance he must to gain a seat of honour and equality and eat of the fatted calf that belonged to him Who can blame him if the Prodigal Son hesitates for a moment and unarmed turns blue and re grets he ever thought of returning and wishes he had re mained abroad living with harlots or had remained in the land stricken with a mighty famine and filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat? Living with harlots he thinks is incomparably saner and more civilized than fighting for the feast of the fatted calf It takes him days and days to nerve himself to the battle to discover him self as a fighter For only by discovering and proving himself as a fighter can he gain the respect of his robber brothers What is worse to maintain that place at the table the Prodigal Son has to continue to arm himself and they sit down at the dinner of the fatted calf with one hand holding a fork and the other hand holding a drawn dagger There is no other way of finishing the dinner and feeding oneself in this household It is only in this sense that we can speak of the emergence of China in the bitterly quarrelling family of nations

The story of China s re birth as a modern nation is therefore *more* tragedy than comedy China did *not* dis cover herself until after years of bewildering aggressions of hesitancy and *importunity* and begging for merc evasion and futile pleas for intercession and use ing over broken pledges of final disillu

decision to nerve herself to the new atmosphere of the household Only complete cynicism saved her and taught her dependence upon herself Thus it was that every step in her advance as a modern nation was due to a bitter lesson in disillusionment first at the Versailles Conference then at the League of Nations and finally through a life and death struggle with Japan in which she is compelled to defend herself or perish

It can be easily understood that the mass inertia of a big old country is tremendous and progress was made only by successive shocks from the outside It is fair to say that on the whole China did not choose to become a modern nation but was goaded into it The sack of Peking in 1900 forced the ultra conservatives out of the way and compelled the realization of the imperious necessity of reform which finally broke up the Manchu Empire in 1911 The Versailles Conference in 1919 at which China was betrayed by her own allies directly precipitated the student movement and marked the beginning of Young China to take direct part in national activities a movement which culminated in the revitalizing of the Kuomintang and the establishment of the Nanking Government The next betrayal at the League of Nations during the Manchurian incident in 1932 further forced the very healthy realization that China ultimately must rely upon herself and it was from 1932 onwards that hectic preparations were made for national defence Thanks to the uninterrupted goading of Japan in the years between 1932 and 1937 thanks to Japan s steady encroachment in Jehol Hopei Chahar and Suiyuan the Chinese people were warned that their national independence was at stake and continually kept at a point of boiling indignation and furious hatred in which was finally born the will to resist It cannot be over-emphasized that the foundations for resistance against Japan by the entire nation and the popularization and deepening of the will to resist were laid or took place in those years following 1932 years of bitter resentment and harassing

disillusionment in which this book was written years dominated by the thought that China was at last on the road to become a modern unified nation but that Japan would not allow her years that saw even the pacifist Hu Shih who alone defended the Tangku Pact of 1933 turn into a supporter of the cause of resistance years that made the Chinese Communists abandon their own programme and unite with Nanking on the single condition of pledged resistance to Japan years that culminated in the Sian kidnapping in the winter of 1936 Finally it was the armed invasion by Japan that brought the nationhood of China into being and unified China as a modern nation ought to be unified For the first time in modern history the whole nation moves as one man and China hates and fights like a modern nation Thus a modern China is being born under the baptism of fire

II Will Our Old Culture Save Us?

The question now is not whether we shall be able to save our old culture but whether our old culture will be able to save us Only after we have preserved ourselves against external attack shall we be able to preserve our old culture

China has no choice but to become modern She has had modernity forced upon her If she could have learned from the West only the arts of peace greater education for the people greater enjoyment for men women and children better prevention of famines floods and poverty more libraries parks and museums and better policemen officials judges and scholars! If she could only have made use of the rich cultural heritage of the West and revitalized her literature re arranged her musical melodies and made researches in her medicine and perhaps have contributed to the sciences and arts of the West! It would not be so catastrophic even if Ch[illegible] could learn only washing of gold and drilling of oil [illegible] and modern advertising and merchandising and all [illegible]

industrialism and money hunt of the West! But the gift of the West is given to China in two hands in one hand the arts of peace and in the other the arts of war and she has to take both The Chinese farmers perhaps first see the spread of the Western civilization in the spread of Japanese bombing planes flying over their villages and first learn what western machines mean by seeing crawling armoured caterpillar tanks Scientific accuracy means the accuracy of gunfire and the mastery of physics and chemistry is proved by mustard gas dumdum bullets and searchlights of the Japanese navy on the Yangtse Perhaps the farmers children will swear to become modern with a curse while women with raped daughters and bayoneted babies cry in confusion and terror unable to comprehend the personal happenings that are the results of a far away world dominated by sheer commercial greed that now descends upon them in the frightening combination of Attila hordes armed with machine guns

Yet being modern is not simply being armed and warlike and brutal It is perhaps possible to strike an equation about the advantages and disadvantages accruing to China from this transformation through modern influence and modern circumstances

The process of China s acclimatization to the brutal warring world of to day is necessarily a hardening process boding good neither for her neighbours nor for herself just as I challenge any claim that the human life led by the men and women of modern fascist states like Germany Italy and Japan is a whit better as human life than in let us say sixteenth-century Italy or eighteenth century China So far as the end of human happiness is concerned the net result of *progress* is nil so far as the ideal of human dignity is concerned the net result is a minus and in the judging of civilizations let us never lose sight of the true end and ideal of human life Suppose China becomes a good fighting nation well armed and well equipped after the war nothing is gained thereby if she has to continue to live in a warring world as com

pared to an unarmed unequipped and isolationist world that she was living in in the eighteenth century The respect gained by military prowess invites fear from without and breeds haughty arrogance of the 1914 German or 1937 Japan type corroding the soul of the nation from within and necessarily imposing upon the nation terrific sacrifices for an object unknown So far as the world can discover neither the German people of 1914 nor the Japanese people of 1937 knew what they were called upon to fight and sacrifice for Nations have ruined themselves fighting for nothing else than Victory with a capital letter The mania of war mad men creates an illusion in seven letters and makes of it an end sufficient unto itself for which mothers lose their sons and wives lose their husbands for behind every triumphal march follow the shadows of countless widows and orphans in mourning The Japanese have proved themselves good fighters but so have the Russians the English the French the Germans the Americans the Italians the Abyssinians the Arabs the Sikhs the Turks the Indians the Negroes and now the Chinese It is just a matter of acclimatization to a higher level of the warlike spirit and pretty soon nations will tire of warlike pretension and military prowess and the world will grow sick and weary of victory parades and processions of tanks and aeroplanes and men will not fight merely to demonstrate that one is braver than the other but merely to prove that one possesses more devilish machines Even when the Chinese have proved themselves brave fighters they have proved only what was proved long ages ago about the Arabs the Negroes and the Indians and it is somewhat insane to prove the civilized man is not inferior to an African native The Chinese people will only build a bigger and better army and pay more taxes and for the first time submit themselves to compulsory conscription for the love of country The world has nothing to gain by seeing the last great pacifist culture die out and be transformed a thoroughly efficient modern ...

Since the modernization of China happens to come at this period of European chaos it is to be expected also that with the subtle Chinese sense for moral values China will lose to a certain extent its respect for the civilization of the West as Japan has already done And this not only by the failure of the Western Powers to make a stand for justice and respect for treaty obligations but also by the moral bankruptcy within Europe itself Western prestige is lowered in Chinese eyes not only by Western indifference to catastrophic upheavels in the Far East and such concerns and arguments on their part as reckon solely with commercial gains and losses but also by a shrewd knowledge of how Europe is treating the Europeans The arrogant unintelligent and unscientific Aryanism of Nazi Germany so reminiscent of Wilhelm Hohenzollern the abandonment of Czechoslovakia by France the stockbrokerly peace with stockbrokerly honour of Chamberlain in England the triumphant cynicism of Mussolini in Spain and England s complicity in it and the surrender of the League of Nations to Italy in the case of Abyssinia give us a devastating picture of the moral bankruptcy of Europe resembling so much the moral bankruptcy of China in the third century B C with the same selling out of small states by the big states to the growing dictator Ch in Shih Huang the same bribing for peace by the Six States presenting Ch in with bits of others territories, the same fear and hesitancy of the small states in turning for protection the same cynicism toward covenants and treaties and the same dallying with the dictator totalitarian nation by the great Ch i Kingdom for its selfish benefit—all done by able statesmen speaking large mouthfuls of desire for peace security justice and honour until the totalitarian state engulfed them all The Chinese realize that if Europe is not willing to fight for justice in Spain much less can justice serve as the principle of international dealings elsewhere Thus the word modernity has a bad ring about it and China in

accepting modernity has to accept it whole The modern world is united in a cultural as well as economic unit and the principle of sacred treaties or the principle of force in world affairs becomes a world system from which none may escape

Yet the modernization of China contains within it also blessings for the Chinese people It is necessary to understand the social transformation of China from within in order to appreciate what is happening inside China Modernization is an inexorable process brought about by the spread of newspapers and radios and a thousand other contacts with the West and it cannot be stopped no matter what the vicissitudes of fortune on the battlefield Even the Japanese cannot do anything about this new reborn Chinese nation The strength of the Chinese resistance to-day is built upon this new nationalism brought about by the modernization of her people The reason why history is not going to repeat itself and China is not going to be conquered and then absorb her conquerors is that not only Japan is not the Manchu or Mongols of other centuries but also China is not the ancient formless mass conquered by the Mongols and the Manchus The base of the present resistance against Japan is not the Chinese Government nor the Chinese army but the Chinese people who are decidedly different in their temperament points of view social attitude and general enlightenment from what they were thirty years ago

The fact is we were willing to preserve our old culture but our old culture was not able to preserve us Only modernization is going to save China The wonderful paintings of Mi Fei and the mature poetry of Su Tungpo in the eleventh century did not prevent the invasion of the Kins into North China half a century afterwards nor did the art of painting of Emperor Huichung save him from dying in exile as hostage to the barbari invaders There is no proof in history that a mature and mature philosophy necessarily coincided with the tical greatness of a ... If Napoleon admired G

it did not mean Goethe s Germany was not run under the iron heels of Napoleon and history records that raw barbarian Vandals overthrew cultured if decadent Rome The invasion of China by the West in the nineteenth century coincided with one of her recurrent cycles of decay as set out in the first chapter of this book when the peace and prosperity of the eighteenth century under Emperor Ch ienlung was no more overpopulation and poverty produced unrest and the Taiping Rebellion swept over half of China in the eighteen fifties and officialdom was corrupt to the core Whereas a century before the China of the Ch ienlung regime was superior to England in communications and public works and the general level of people s living in the latter half of the nineteenth century China presented a spectacle in sorry contrast to Victorian England She was in a perfect state of moral and economic decay The Chinese Republic founded in 1911 took over this heritage but old values were disappearing and new values had not yet taken their place and with the collapse of imperial authority the giant Republic fell by its own weight into a series of virtually autonomous tuchunates with military satraps ruling as *de facto* emperors in their respective provinces Western democratic rulers fear the people and Chinese rulers under the Monarchy feared the Emperor but these military satraps had neither an emperor nor a strong public opinion to be afraid of If Japan had chosen to strike in the first decade of the Republic as she did in the pre entation of the Twenty One Demands in 1915 and had not been restrained by fear of the Western Powers China could have been conquered already

Looking now over the transformation of the spirit of modern China in the last four decades one cannot remain blind to the benefits that come from the general enlightenment of the people as a whole By the western yardstick of Progress one can easily point to the spread of schools and colleges the steady increase of newspapers and the output of books the rapid development of motor high

ways and railways the eman p t   t v participation of women in p l t   l g lence of a standard nati nal l   u   l   cl t *l kin* taxes the consol dati n t t n   l   j l w d ing out of corruption and m st n p   f l   t r ly new spirit of hope and endea ur   d   m petuous desire for reconstruct n am ng f   j bl   fun tionaries of the country   N greater contra   f an in the management of the finance   f the c untr   b   tl Peking regime which always paid tl e salar e   f   r cials teachers and diplomats n arre rs and wh se f nan consisted in juggl ng with loans fr m m nth to m nth and the Nanking Government wh cl c ul l nvest mill ons in the construction of public build ngs ra l   stations wharves quarantine boats gymnasiums stad un   h chroads and railways and spent a hundred thousa d d ll rs m nthly on tl e Academia S nica f r   cientific research al ne   Such progress was due to the existence of a stable g vernment for over ten years but due in the final analys s to the gene ral penetration of western influence and enlighment   A new generation of western-educated financ ers and college profe-sors replaced the old mandarinate of the Peking re g me   At one time in the Nanking Cab net I could count three professors of the Peking National Un versity a pro fessor of geology and a professor of economics both edu cated in Germany and a chancellor and professor of edu cation educated in America   A d fferent generation neces sarily meant a different point of view and the change in the spirit of men is to be ascribed to the modernization of the people and in the last analysis to the mere lapse of time s nce the establ shment of the Republ c twenty seven years ago

One is fully aware of the illusions of progress   The spread of schools and colleges does not neces arily mean China has better educated youth than in the old days The emancipat on of women does not mean that the modern girl is a superior type to the ancient home bred   Chinese girl   The increase of modern luxuries and distr ictions d

not mean that modern men and women are having a better time The rise of new dynasties of wealth does not mean that they have the right to condemn the rich mandarins of former days The prohibition of bigamy in the new constitution does not mean that wealthy Chinese cannot keep mistresses in the western manner The appearance of factories does not mean that workers are better treated than ancient artisans or that there is going to be less poverty And modern industrialism promises to raise more social problems than ever existed before On the whole China is still undergoing the process of social transformation and is barely beginning to struggle to her feet and follow the new pattern of things with signs of poverty and rural disintegration and quite a few comic contrasts in the vast interior that remind us we are a long way from being out of the woods Yet if China wants to become modern she has to adjust herself to all that modern industrialism and nationalism mean I have already indicated that the modernization of China is no holiday visit to a fools paradise

I have too much confidence in the Chinese racial character and national heritage to fear they will ever be lost A national heritage is but a set of moral and mental qualities a living dynamic thing showing itself in certain philosophic attitudes toward life and reactions and contributions in new circumstances The position should be bravely taken that the modern world has a spiritual unity and that modern culture is the common heritage of the world China cannot possibly remain apart from this common heritage of the world whether it be technical science medicine philosophy art or music She stands to profit by enriching herself with this harvest of modern civilization It is a common mistaken notion that she will thereby sacrifice her national character and her heritage On the other hand I think it should stimulate the Chinese national character to newer and greater creative activities Frankly I am not worried The Germans the French the English and the Americans have all partic

pated in the building of this modern scientific culture without the loss of their national character so why should China lose hers? The different nationalities have all their peculiar contributions to make say the Germans in music and science the French in art and literature the English in democratic government and the Americans in technological perfection and big scale business efficiency but such contributions must be on the basis of a cultural unity The modern science of medicine is neither German nor French nor American there is only one science of medicine If the Chinese character is a living force it will assert itself by its ability to make contributions to the common fund of knowledge and if it is not it is not worth having at all A national character cannot mean anything except certain spiritual attitudes and mental and moral assets which under whatever circumstances will show themselves A living national genius should therefore create and produce It should not be regarded as something dead and already achieved to be embalmed and preserved A national heritage is not a museum piece Chinese history has already proved the extraordinary vitality of this Chinese culture surviving all political shocks without losing its continuity

III The New Nationalism

The question before China today is however not whether such progress and modernization are theoretically desirable for modernization is an imperious necessity if China is to adjust herself successfully to the new world environment and survive The present circumstances compel us to believe that what matters most today is whether modernization has gone far enough to give inner vitality to China's new nationalism to check and wear out and finally vanquish the ruthless Japanese war machine It is no time now for China to choose the wise gift from the Goddess between Peace and Progress The sinister of Goddess Europa to old China are not given in such

plified forms but the choice is between Peace and Slavery, and Progress and War China has chosen the latter the so-called new Nationalism and this is the gift of the West

The new nationalism which is the gift of the modern world and which we see to day in the national resistance against Japan by the entire people is different from the love of country as we used to know it It is based it is true on the old racial instinct common to all men to defend one s own home and hearth against a foreign aggressor naturally strong in a people with a long history and a proud national consciousness But mere love of country or racial sentiment pure and simple was not enough Historically it was not proof against the Mongol and the Manchu invasion Patriotism in ancient isolationist China was a queer thing China was an empire a civilization a world by itself The love of China was like the love of civilization or love of the world or love of the planet called Earth in a contemporary American s mind How many Americans will fight for the love of the world or even love of the civilization if it is threatened by Martians? The sentiment is something far too thin and vague and remote

That old racial pride evidently was not enough When China wins as I know she is going to win it is because of that new nationalistic spirit come into full being This new nationalism has surprised the world The uniformed still regard it as an artificial product brought about by the war with no basis in it which will disappear when the external pressure is lifted The more correct view is that this new nationalism was so much in the ascendant before the war that it became the nightmare of Japan so that she had to strike before the metamorphosis was completed or her dream of Asiatic Empire would vanish Somewhere in 1934 1935 this new spirit passed the line eclipsing and finally blotting out dark despair and a new spirit of national self-confidence was born Only after the onset of the war did the inner strength of this new spirit and

new fabric become apparent and surprise th j world most of all Japan herself

If to-day we see the will to resist in China uncrushed and uncrushable by a superior army and navy and air force it is because of this new nationalism brought about by the invisible force of general enlightenment If we see to-day the unity and coherence becoming stronger and stronger with external pressure if we see contrary to Japanese and outside expectations no selling out of generals and politicians during the year and half of warfare if we see the old personal enemies of Chiang Kaishek the Kwangsi Generals Li Tsungjen and Pai Tsunghsi throw in all their resources and personal service to fight side by side with Chiang and under his leadership if we see the communist generals act out of equally patriotic motives to support Chiang if we see school and college students fighting in the services if we see the stubborn resistance of Chinese soldiery fighting on all fronts against heavy odds in air force and artillery and tanks if we see the morale of the people behind the front which John Gunther says cannot be described by any other word but magnificent if we see young college girls leading hundreds of war orphans in a steamer up the Yangtse giving them shelter but standing themselves on the deck in the rain if we see Chinese beggars beg for gifts to throw into the public coffer for war contributions if we see the call for 9 000 000 cotton vests for the soldiers and refugees in winter answered and oversubscribed in a few days by the entire nation if we see refugee children organize dramatic corps and tour the country to stir up the people s resistance if we see the Chinese respect the soldier now we can say that China s nationalism is an accomplished permanent fact and China is assured of unity and leadership and determination to fight till the final victory even if it takes years If we hear unanimous eye witness reports that amidst the stark privations and hardships and personal losses of home and property and relatives *not a s grumble is heard among the refugees against the C*

ment for the policy of resisting the invader we know that the basis of this resistance is in the people and not in their leaders only

In such a war of prolonged resistance I can foresee what will happen Japan is like a new Buick car with a splendid engine trying to cross the Gobi Desert and the contest is one between the engine and the sand Will the engine reach its far distant and forever shifting objective before the sand gets into the engine and paralyzes it? Is the desert going to destroy the car or the car going to conquer the desert? An added consideration is that the car carries only a limited petrol supply at the outset of the journey so that it has to push ahead in order to reach the supposed objective before the petrol is used up If the car reaches the objective with the last gallon of petrol Japan wins but the likelihood—to me the certainty—is that the Japanese machine will continue to labour along and make headway so long as it labours along but eventually the car will be parked for sheer lack of fuel and American and British trucks will be called to pull it back to where it began its foolhardy journey with smeared mudguards and a broken shaft and an engine without grease

A further peculiar element in the desert race is that at different places can be found only U S filling stations upon which alone Japan absolutely depends for replenishing her petrol supply and reaching a successful outcome Japan goes on insulting the filling station employees and knocking down the fences of the station but gets its machine *filled with U S oil while the station employees merely complain* of the Japanese insolence and the sand thrown in their eyes but pocket the price for the petrol claiming business as the biggest of reasons When Uncle Sam will cease to sell for profit and refuse like a New England farmer to have any deal with the reckless fence breaking party only time can tell

And so China fights on and will fight on battered and bruised but not beaten! The best hope of China is that

she has at present an inhumanly cold minded and inhumanly stubborn leader who knows what all this is about and who views it as a twenty round match knowing that it is the final knock out that counts and has planned accordingly It is not China's inherent strength but the knowledge of that strength and the strategy to use it to full advantage that is important This understanding of the essential nature of the war of resistance is not only made common property among the people of China to-day through newspapers and radios but dictates the strategy of the General Staff itself

Only when we have driven the Japanese army from our soil or compelled them to retire shall we again take time to think what all this confusion of cultures means and how to preserve our old culture Meanwhile it is not our old culture but machine guns and hand grenades that will save the nation The Chinese nation will not touch their old culture until the Japanese cease talking about this common Asiatic culture and leave it alone where it belongs It behoves the wise not to speak too often of a national culture lest the jingoes hear of it and make of it a catchword and a phrase to destroy it One never hears of a specific English or French culture but when Hitler speaks of German *Kultur* or Itagaki speaks of Asiatic culture let the world look out! When a German hears of German *Kultur* he immediately reaches out for a gun and when a Japanese speaks of Asiatic culture women tremble and scream

IV Brewing Storms

I saw all this three years ago back in 1935 I saw the inevitability of the coming armed conflict and saw the regeneration and redemption of China through war as equally inevitable and axiomatic For it must be clearly stated and understood that the foundations of the present strong resistance were firmly laid in the years after Japan had swallowed up Manchuria in 1932 and that this resistance is not an overnight growth after the war merely

brought about by the unimaginable Japanese atrocities It should be understood that the Japanese undeclared war against China was begun on September 18th 1931 and has been going on without interruption ever since Modern as the Chinese people comparatively are their determination to fight Japan was not crystallized and fortified and deepened until they were stung into a frenzy and saw that even after the sacrifice of Manchuria Japanese appetite was not satisfied but growing and that the partition of North China was inexorably in the scheme of the Japanese Army The years of helpless rage between 1932 and the outbreak of the present war were the years in which Japan herself aided the spiritual mobilization of the Chinese people and fanned Chinese nationalism and anti Japanese hatred into a glowing flame

I saw that the state of things in those years could not go on for ever and that the boiling indignation of the people at the continuous whittling away of Chinese territory at the daylight smuggling of Japanese goods by the millions of dollars under Japanese consular protection at the vile underhanded and despicable advance of the narcotic trade following the Japanese army—I saw that this boiling indignation suppressed by the Government to avoid incidents and given no outlet was bound to accumulate force until one day it would burst and engulf any Government that continued to beat retreat before the never-ceasing aggressions of Japan For five years from 1932 to 1936 inclusive this public feeling of national humiliation and national demand for resistance was given no outlet or tangible expression in public Under the steady increasing pressure of these crossing and mutually augmenting trends—(1) the ruthless intrigue and pressure of the Japanese warlords toward completing their separation of the five Northern provinces (2) the consequent growing bitterness and rising demand for resistance on the part of all Chinese people and a great section of the Government and (3) the suppression of all demonstrations of this sentiment by the Chinese National Gov

ernment to avoid incidents while it was getting ready under these steady increasing pressures the nation literally went crazy The atmosphere of dark intrigue of the Chahar Hopei Regime and the lack of clarification on the part of the Government where and when it would make a stand as the limit of concessions were so demoralizing that I felt strongly that only by yielding to the popular demand for resistance and fighting it out with Japan could the nation recover its mental equilibrium and that a war would like a storm relieve the atmospheric depression and enable the people to breathe in a clarified if stormy atmosphere The nation fully awakened would be able to give outlet to the stored up hatred of the aggressor accumulating for years since the rape of Manchuria and feel free and sane again Open warfare under such circumstances was psychologically the more healthy thing for an opposite course of yielding up the Northern provinces inside the Great Wall without a fight since no let up could be expected from the Japanese pressure would I was quite sure cause the nation to settle into a state of permanent depression mania As events proved the tide of rising demand for resistance whether China was ready or not was so strong that it swept everything before it and nearly engulfed Chiang Kaishek him elf at Sian Chiang Kaishek could not have survived at Sian had he not been able to convince his captors of hi sincerity in deciding to resist further foreign aggression an idea which was firmly and clearly and actively in his mind but which he had refused publicly to declare to the nation as a whole

The peculiar angle in this situation was that while Chiang Kaishek was actively planning for the inevitable conflict he was also playing for time and the nation was left completely in the dark without knowledge of a promised leadership for a war of national liberation F at Nanking there sat the supreme chess-player of th East and one of the greatest political chess pla time

great enigmatic personality whom I had watched rise to fame and power for ten years could be inhumanly cool On top of his coolness his fine calculations his stubbornness (unusually un Chinese) he was also a man who acted but kept his own counsel and refused to explain his attitude to the nation The inhuman coolness of Chiang was proved not only in his ordering Chang Hsuehliang to give up the whole of Manchuria without fighting but also in his refusal to support the Nineteenth Route Army in the Shanghai War of 1932 even after the gauntlet had been thrown down and as far as the people were concerned China was already fighting Japan This was not a possible attitude for a common mortal with common passions like myself As is evident in this case he was also a man who knew he was right even if the whole nation condemned him and even if he stood all alone He thought China was not ready not only in regard to military training and equipment but principally in that China was not sufficiently unified The war of Shanghai was in the spring of 1932 but he had fought Wang Chingwei Chang Fakwei Shih Yushan Tang Shengchih and the Kwangsi Generals Li Tsungjen and Pai Tsunghsi in middle and south China only in 1929 had fought Wang Chingwei Feng Yuhsiang and Yen Hsishan in northern China only in 1930 and he was in the midst of his unfinished campaign against the Communists in Kiangsi which was yet to be intensified in 1933

The Communists in Kiangsi by the way had already declared war against Japan and were technically at war with Japan since 1932 Japan wanted to fight the communists in China which Chiang Kaishek was doing most determinedly and wholeheartedly but since the Communists wanted to fight both Japan and Chiang Kaishek and since Chiang Kaishek did not permit Japan to fight the Communists Japan wanted to fight Chiang Kaishek in order to be able to command Chiang Kaishek to fight the Communists and gave Chiang Kaishek no peace until Chiang Kaishek didn t want to fight the Communists any

more and both Chiang Kaishek and the Communist Red Napoleon Chu Teh wanted to fight Japan When the war started Japan soon discovered her sole object was to destroy Chiang Kaishek because Chiang was anti Japanese although he was anti Communist and before long I know Japan will discover that she is going to destroy Chiang Kaishek because Chiang Kaishek is not only anti Japanese but also pro Communist

But while such high comedy was going on among the Japanese militarists and diplomats of which we shall see more later the people of China were breathing in the stench atmosphere of national despondency and almost national delirium The first ray of hope came in the summer of 1935 when the Japanese Army announced that it wanted to destroy Chiang Kaishek To me then also in the Slough of Despond this was unbelievably good news The Japanese militarists in China at this time were so arrogant that a military attache at the Japanese Embassy in Nanking openly said that the head of a friendly Government to which he was officially accredited ought to be overthrown This was followed by quite a few equally blunt statements by Japanese Army authorities in North China who liked to see their names in print and gave perfectly frank interviews about Japanese intentions The statements had two effects each electrifying In the first place Chiang Kaishek is a human being with human emotions common to every mortal in particular he is a born last ditch fighter Japan s open declared hostility affected him just as a *Persian* cat is affected by having its coat stroked backwards The second and more important effect was that the Japanese denunciation of Chiang Kaishek at once absolved him in the eyes of the Chinese people from all guilt and suspicion of being pro-Japanese The Chinese people began to flock around him as their national leader as they never had done before The Chinese and the Japanese had been working at cross purposes for so long that the Chinese instinctively sensed that what the Japanese said was good for China was

for China and what the Japanese said was bad for China was good for China When therefore the Japanese announced they regarded Chiang Kaishek as the enemy of the Chinese people the Chinese people felt he must be their saviour In simpler terms if the Japanese thought Chiang was a bad man that was proof conclusive in Chinese eyes that he was a good man If he was not good for China the Japanese would not try to destroy him This pronouncement of several prominent Japanese militarists in the summer of 1935 convinced the Chinese people that Chiang was preparing for resistance in a way that no statement from Chiang himself could have done and the critics of Chiang began to change their opinion of the man and rally to his support

A year before this back in the summer of 1934 up in Kuling where I was writing this book I had heard rumours of Chiang s preparations for armed resistance and had received these rumours with a great deal of scepticism Near Kuling in Lushan there was at this time a military training summer camp where the commissioned officers from all parts of China were called to receive direct political training by the Generalissimo himself Throughout the summer standing beneath the hot sun the Generalissimo lectured them for hours on end on the necessity for *resistance the inequality of equipment and the preparations for national defence* The officers all went back to their provincial armies with their hearts won over to Chiang and I thought their allegiance to their direct superiors weakened But outside these talks at the military officers camp which were generally kept secret I had seen no concrete signs of the intention for resistance and my impression was that the Generalissimo was extremely clever That he was also patriotic in regard to the question of Japan he took the greatest pains to conceal before me and before the Chinese nation The declarations of the Japanese that Chiang must be overthrown were therefore the first assurance I had that Chiang s profes

sions of preparing for national defence against further aggressions were sincere and my instinct was correct

Since Chiang did not care whether or not the nation knew what was in his mind and since there was a rigid censorship and the outward policy of the Government was still one of kowtowing and capitulation before increasing Japanese demands what actually occurred was that from the summer of 1935 onwards there was a whispering campaign that Chiang was preparing for resistance to which the people could lend credence or not according to their individual judgments Chiang's past record of non resistance in the Manchurian affair the Shanghai War and the Tangku Truce was against him but those like myself who had bits of inside information on details of actual preparations for national defence thought that all his past sins could be *forgiven him* since he was envisaging the military conflict not from a patriotic sentimental angle but from the point of view of military organization communications supplies and facilities for caring for the wounded stated in facts and figures as a military man would do It was not the building of the air force which could be interpreted as strengthening his personal domination over China but quite definite details like fortifications of the Chapoo sea coast compulsory military training of first year students in senior middle schools and colleges the building of the Canton Hankow Railway by day and by night in anticipation of a Japanese blockade of the East coast the investigation of hospital facilities etc Personally and secretly I had forgiven him

I was still dissatisfied with the stubborn attitude of this man toward the Communist offer of a United Front (since August 1935) an attitude from which he was rudely shaken only by the kidnapping at Sian whither he went to intensify his anti Communist campaign and whence he came away convinced of the sincerity of the Communists who could have taken his life then but who were responsible for championing his release I also felt that the time was coming when further capitulation on his

Japan would cause endless revolts (as happened in the Kwangsi Revolt of 1936) and make it extremely difficult for him to hold China together in spite of his military superiority but that on the other hand the general feeling against the Japanese threat was so strong that only by assuming the leadership in national defence could he transform his military unification of China into a real moral unification I felt that if he would openly assume this leadership he would become a national leader crowned by the loyalty of the peoples hearts and would emerge as one of China s greatest national heroes in history a condition which has been realized but if he should at any time falter and give up national resistance which is an impossible contingency in view of his known stubbornness and insight the whole nation would flock to the generals who continued to resist a fact which is still true to-day So are we all heroes and common men puppets of circumstances and masters of circumstances at the same time as the Chinese saying goes

Meanwhile to Chinese who still doubted Chiang s patriotic leadership the China of the years before the war presented a gruesome picture of despair Shall I tell the story of shameful vicious Japanese aggression and equally shameful Chinese capitulation and suppression of all anti Japanese sentiment? Shall I tell the full story of Japanese meanness and insufferable arrogance and Chinese insufferable submission and of conditions under which no self respecting men and women could exist? Chinese husbands had to look on while Japanese ronins teased women at a Peking bazaar and then guffawed at a time when Peking was under Chinese control and Japan and China were not at war Was it not right that the two nations should fight and decide once for all whether China should remain as an equal nation or should become a vassal state of Japan? How was the Chinese Government to suppress the anti Japanese feeling even with the most rigid censorship and forbidding of demonstrations? In spite of all precautions student demonstrations flared up and the Peking

police chopped down the students with big knives the same knives that the students of Yenching had presented to the Twenty Ninth Division for defence against Japan on the Great Wall or as in another case the police turned the fire hose on the student demonstrators in icy weather In May 1936 I witnessed a demonstration of thousands of students in Peiping with students carried back in rickshaws with blood streaming down their faces but the Chinese government censorship was so strict that on my return to Shanghai a few days afterwards I found not a line had been printed about the demonstration in the Chinese papers at Shanghai On the same trip I saw personally the daylight smuggling of Japanese goods at the Tientsin East Station Huge piles of Japanese cotton and sugar were standing in the station of a Chinese Rail way and four or five Japanese and Koreans were sitting with their legs planted open on a bench and the Chinese Railway guards looked on in helpless rage because of extra territoriality! Japanese smugglers had ejected Chinese passengers from a third-class coach at Tientsin at midnight and tumbled in their goods from windows and the Chinese Railway had to carry their smuggled goods to Tsinan under pain of being called anti Japanese and charged with insincerity for co operation The Chinese Railway Ministry had issued an order that goods without identification papers showing clearing of customs duties should not be accepted on the railways for transportation but the Japanese consular authorities made it plain that any scratch on the skin of a Japanese or Korean smuggler would be followed by claims for indemnity and possibly a military punitive expedition Japanese gunboats had disarmed Chinese customs launches and forbidden them to patrol the waters of Shanhaikuan which was trans formed into a port for unloading Japanese goods by fleets of Japanese steamers and junks Any engagement by the customs boats with these gangster boats would be considered an insult to the Japanese flag as in fact once The Chinese Maritime Customs official

1935 stated that the volume of smuggling in North China in nine months amounted to over $25 000 000 Chinese currency in direct loss to the customs revenue And yet not a line of news or comment about the gigantic smuggling was permitted to appear in the Chinese papers a year after this had been going on until the newspapers in London and New York began to publish them A Chinese opium dealer in Tinghsien (near Peiping) was arrested but had to be released on a telegram from the Japanese authorities in Peiping Japanese tourists went round inspecting the libraries of Tsing Hua and other universities of Peiping and Shanghai and the Chinese college authorities were notified by municipal authorities to hide away or destroy volumes of Chinese modern history that might mention the loss of Manchuria Two harmless humorous skits on Hirota had to be taken out of a collection of my essays before my publishers in Shanghai dared to publish them A comment of mine in an English weekly at Shanghai on the increase of Japanese influence and the wisdom of studying Japanese brought a sharp warning from the Chief of the Intelligence Bureau of the Foreign Ministry who had just returned from a trip to Japan and the manager of the weekly had to take a hurried night train trip immediately to Nanking to arrange matters and promise to behave No editorial in the Chinese papers at Shanghai that I ever read in those years touched or was permitted to touch on Japan A contributed article in the *New Life Weekly* (*Hsin Shenghuo Chouk an*) characterizing the Emperor of Manchukuo as a puppet of a puppet caused the Shanghai Chinese Court under direct Japanese pressure to sentence the manager Tu to a fourteen month imprisonment and a young reader reading that a certain Tu died during this period and mistaking it for the patriotic manager committed suicide One student demonstration staged by the students of Fuh Tan and other universities of Shanghai was denied railway facilities for a trip to demonstrate before the Nanking authorities The students captured the cars and engineer

students ran the locomotives but the Chinese auth ties tore up the rails and compelled the students to disperse and return after reaching Soochow Another demonstration of Shanghai universities was planned but frustrated by Chinese gendarmes entering the boys and girls dormitories at Fuh Tan on the night of March 24th 1936 and arresting eight students and the next day apart from the English papers which published the incident as a front page story the Chinese papers came out with a small note of the incident and a bland report issued by the Central News Service *giving the statement* of the Commander of the Woosung Shanghai Gendarmerie to the following effect Seeing that the minority of Communist students were so unruly the Commander s Headquarters has ordered *the authorities of the said College to hand over* the Communist elements and at the same time caution *the good students* against being utilized by Communists *and persuade them to work at their lessons* (Italics are mine) As late as the autumn of 1936 eight prominent Chinese editors and lawyers of middle age none of them even suspected of being Communists were arrested and jailed at Shanghai for openly organizing an Association Against Japanese Aggression and *were not released till* the outbreak of the war when Madame Sun Yatsen went to the Court and demanded If being against Japanese aggre sion is a crime arrest me!

When Hirota and his successors accu ed Chiang Kaishek and the Kuomintang of stirring up anti Japanese sentiment the full pathos of the remark could be appreciated only by those who lived through those years before the war Nanking prohibitions against demonstrations issued February 20th 1936 to kill instantly the nation wide students anti Japanese meetings that flared up in January included the following four articles

(1) In the event of any attempt at disturbi instigating riots disrupting communications o or acts which endanger the safety of the F

troops or police responsible for peace preservation *shall use force or other effective means* to suppress them

(2) Any one found to be doing propaganda work aiming at such criminal acts as mentioned in the last article *in the form of writing or pictures or lectures or with any other methods shall be arrested on the spot* and if he resist shall be brought under control *by force or other means*

(3) *Meetings and parades* which aim to violate peace and order and to instigate the people *shall be dissolved by the troops or police* responsible and *the ringleaders* and any one who resists dissolution *shall be arrested*

(5) *Any one who hides or gives shelter* to violators of these measures or helps them to escape *shall be arrested*

It was under such emergency laws against crimes endangering the safety of the state that the Fuh Tan students were legally arrested in the following month In my *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (University of Chicago Press) I was compelled to write in 1936 in the chapter on Censorship

The exercise of censorship implies that the government thinks it is able to carry on the national responsibilities without interference from the press or the people and when such a government is actually marching from victory to victory either in military or diplomatic battles the people do not mind keeping their mouths shut but on the other hand when the press is muzzled at a time when the government is daily losing bits of territory that belong to the entire nation and the people are not allowed to speak out the only natural consequence if censorship is prolonged over a long period is that the people are overcome by a feeling of general cynicism and despondency The invariable plea of the rulers is that the people should maintain calm (*chertsing*) in moments of national crisis which is true enough in the oriental tradition but when this beautiful calm is kept up too long in which the people feel

they cannot do a thing or say a thing to help their country it is no longer distinguishable from cynical indifference

Again

> I can never sufficiently stress the fact that it is a lie to say that the Chinese people of to day are the Chinese people of thirty years ago and that they are really indifferent to their national welfare simply because one sees no visible sign of people s activities either in the press or in public demonstrations against daily encroachments of their territory

The fact was any less strong government than Chiang Kaishek s could not have suppressed the people s anti Japanese activities and feelings to this extent and survived or remained in power and it was a miracle that with the army of *insolent Japanese soldiers sailors narcotic dealers* penetrating into Chinese villages in the interior as far as Szechuen only half a dozen Japanese were killed in the entire country except Manchuria in all those years By pure statistics it could be proved that Japanese lives were safer and better protected in China inside the Great Wall than in Manchuria by something like 33 000 per cent in the year 1936 even assuming that the two territories compared were equal in size!

If any body of men had the honour of stirring up anti Japanese feeling it certainly was not the Chiang Kaishek Government Hirota knew better than that The statement of the plain truth was painful yet was also useful The Chief of the Intelligence Bureau thought I was doing China a disservice by stating the facts in the *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* and the little bureaucrat went so far as to threaten preventing my landing in China on my return He should be glad now that I have marshalled together here unimpeachable documented evidence to answer Hirota that the Kuomi must be absolved from all blame in stirring up anti Japanese feeling for which the Japanese were and

solely responsible and that the national will to resist grew firmly in the people and was not artificially fanned up by the government leaders

V Pressure Counter Pressure and Explosions

Meanwhile in the Far Eastern continent three historic forces were gathering momentum and rushing China and Japan toward a head on collision first the increasing inexorable Japanese expansion inside the Great Wall with the partition of the five northern Chinese provinces as the declared definite immediate objective second the laying of the foundations of a modern state by Chiang and the Kuomintang Government and the feverish preparations of China for national defence and third the explosions of popular feeling all over the country in national revolts against further yielding and procrastination in the Government s policy of playing for time It is barely possible to summarize the events in the background under the three categories

Under the heading of Japanese expansion may be mentioned the following The conquest of Manchuria in 1931 32 the seizure of Jehol in 1933 the conclusion of the Tangku Pact giving Japan a demilitarized zone in the same year the Eiji Amau declaration of Asia for the Asiatics in 1933 the silent penetration into Chahar in 1934 5 the setting up of the East Hopei regime in the demilitarized zone designated by the Japanese in 1935 and its expansion toward Peiping the immediate use of this bogus regime as base for huge scale smuggling and spread of the narcotic trade with its centre in the Japanese Concession at Tientsin the full fledged smuggling reaching tens of millions of dollars in open defiance of Chinese customs in Chinese territory in 1935 6 the open declaration in 1935 6 by various Japanese generals in North China that Chiang Kaishek must be overthrown and that a surgical operation must be performed on North China the enunciation in 1935 of Hirota s Three Principles

(China Japan Manchukuo co-operation China s abandonment of co-operation with the Western Powers and abandonment of anti Japanese policy) the virtual Japanese domination of the semi autonomous Hopei Chahar Council under Sung Chehyuan set up by Chiang Kaishek as a temporary buffer instrument the attempt at the conquest of Suiyuan in 1936 a few months before the Sian incident finally the openly and repeatedly announced Japanese intrigue led by Doihara to make the five northern provinces (Chahar Suiyuan Hopei Shantung and Shansi) a second Manchukuo as their immediate unchangeable objective and then the Marco Polo Bridge incident in 1937 Although Japanese lies are too simply and childish to deceive the world now attention should be called to the fact that no Japanese sophist logician or diplomat can wriggle out of the position that the creation of a Japan China Manchukuo bloc means clearly and exactly that Japan wants to make China a second Manchukuo

Under the heading of the consolidation of the Chinese nation into a new born tate the rapid economic reconstruction and feverish preparations for national defence may be mentioned the following the adoption of the silver policy the formation of national banks the consolidation of Chinese finance the concentration of silver in the hands of the Government and shipping it abroad as China s foreign reserve the rapid development of a vast network of motor highways all over the country connecting Nanking with the northwest and the southwest (1 185 kilometres in 1921 30 000 km in 1927 and 96 345 km in 1936) the building of four new railways and four exten ions the most important being the completion of the Canton Hankow railway by night labour the workmen *working under torchlight* and its opening for through traffic in 1936 the extension of the Lunghai Railway Sian in the north west and opening of through exp service from Shanghai to Sian and the opening of connecting Hangchow with Nanchang in Ki

mountainous territory within a year and a half the fortifications of Chapoo Haichow and Nanking the rapid development of a new air force the compulsory military training in camps for three months of middle school and college students started in 1936 the building of dykes and river conservancy work ($6 890 000 Chinese currency in 1933 $13 059 000 in 1934 and $35 351 000 in 1935) the building of stadiums gymnasiums libraries museums and a $7 000 000 wharf at Kiangwan completed just before the outbreak of the war the building of the double-deck steel bridge across the Chientang River at Hangchow also completed just before the outbreak of the war and since destroyed the national rural rehabilitation projects particularly in Kiangsi the rapid development of rural co operatives the compulsory registration of the population under the *paochia* system China at last it seemed had got on to the road of progress and a new spirit of self confidence was born It is important to note that it is the same national spirit which made such internal progress possible that is now determined to fight Japan to a final victory

While a modern progressive unified China was and is certainly wanted by a large section of liberal Japanese opinion this same modern progressive unified China in the very nature of things was an obstacle and a threat to the Japanese war makers dream of a huge Asiatic Empire For this reason Japanese pressure was quickened and the Japanese army was all the time getting more and more impatient with Japanese diplomats and the diplomatic approach and lashed it from behind In the end the feverish programme in China in the years 1934 7 actually assumed the aspect of a race with time to avoid being engulfed by Japan before she was ready for resistance Actually the war started two years too late for Japan and two years too early for China and that is why it is going to be a stalemate But it is exactly because Japan will not give China a chance to continue her normal development and internal reconstruction at a time when China has at

last pulled herself together and got on the road of pro gress that modern China s hatred against Japan is so deep and bitter In trying to destroy Chiang Kaishek s government Japan is trying to destroy the first strong unified and modern Chinese government to bring order out of chaos and in this sense it is a moral wrong and a deeper injustice than breaking treaties What the Japanese are doing is in common English parlance unfair It is neither English fair play nor Chinese gentlemanli ness nor Japanese bushido

But while Chiang Kaish k was following a realistic policy of planning for war but praying for peace that China might be given a respite and build herself into a sound and united modern state and while he had to keep cool himself and keep the nation cool by all repressive measures against outbursts of popular feeling another big force the national will to resist and dissatisfaction with his North China policy was growing so strong as to change the will of this stubborn man whom nothing short of a kidnapping could change Let it be said once for all that the situation in North China was scandalous in the eyes of foreign observers and more than humiliating in the eyes of the Chinese More disgraceful and scandalous than even the Japanese smuggling and Japanese narcotic trade was the fact that the Japanese Army had demanded the closing down of the Kuomintang office at Peiping that is the office of the ruling party that the Chinese Government represented and the Chinese authorities had complied with this demand and the Kuomintang officers had been sent down south

Such outbursts were inevitable The best illustration was a little incident between a railway guard representing the people and a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs re presenting the pro Japanese officials I am free to relate this incident because the Vice Minister is dead and insulting the dead is too cheap for him and if I Chinese novelists are bound to do the same T Minister T ang Yujen a small white face

was a protégé and henchman of Wang Chingwei and was made Vice Minister when Wang Chingwei was Foreign Minister His first act on being appointed Vice Minister at Nanking in the morning was to take the night train to Shanghai in the evening and report to the Japanese Consul General for duty His first job assigned by the Japanese Consul General was to make use of his authority to make T V Soong who was returning from the United States on the wheat loan trip go up to Tokyo when he passed through Japan This T V Soong refused to do and the Vice Minister was roundly reprimanded by the Japanese Consul General for failing in his first assignment Nevertheless T ang Yujen continued to pay his weekly calls to the Japanese This got so notorious that even the guards on the Shanghai Nanking Railway conceived a contempt for the little big official and once when T'ang was going to Shanghai a railway guard asked politely if His Excellency was going to pay his respects to the Japanese again On his return T'ang wept (as we say in Chinese) and complained to Wang Chingwei about the lack of courtesy of the railway guards but nothing came of it and the incident unimportant but significant was closed

This incident prepares the reader to understand the assassinations including that of T'ang Yujen which were part of the popular outbursts against the pro Japanese party in the Government At the Kuomintang Congress in 1935 as Wang Chingwei was standing in front of the camera for a photograph of the Opening Session of the Congress a man disguised as a photographer turned a revolver on him from behind the black hood of the camera and escaped A month later T ang the Vice Minister was shot dead before his own door steps as he was returning to his house in the French Concession at Changhai Later followed the assassination of Yang Yungtai an able politician of the Peking regime who had wormed his way into the Kuomintang Government

Then in 1936 came a series of rebellions which readily pressed the issue of immediate war with Japan and stopping the war on the Communists which Chiang was still bent on continuing The chief of these rebellions were that of Kwangsi in August and the Sian Revolt in December However complicated the motives underlying the revolts they nevertheless expressed the will of the people One must have been living in China to feel their full portent The sincerity of the Communists and even of Chang Hsuehliang Chiang s captor at Sian in acting out of patriotic non person il motives was long proved and had convinced Chiang himself at the spot when they saved his life and championed his release Those who doubted the sincerity of the Kwangsi generals Li and Pai in their demand for immediate war with Japan at the time of their rebellion have been forced to change their minds since the outbreak of the war when Li and Pai both promised and carried out a policy of united wholehearted support of Chiang in resistance against the invader Whether the rebelling generals acted from personal or public motives or a mixture of both and whether immediate *war was advisable is irrelevant the fact remains* that the whole nation had come to realize the danger of further compromise They saw that there was no end to Japan s ambitions no swerving of her will to conquer and that to yield another inch of Chinese territory could not be tolerated by a self respecting nation The nation had reached the point of determining to resist Japan at the risk of a major war War was in the air and Chiang felt it knew it

The e rebellions were therefore inevitable and moreover useful in helping to clarify the issue the issue helplessly presented by the student demonstrators all over the country but now vigorously presented by the militarists It was a remarkable testimony to the Chinese Gov popular strength that although it was taking a m derate and less anti Japanese position it came every rebellion stronger than before Chian

settled the rebellions with firmness and considerable sagacity Some of his immature rawness had worn off and he showed more temperance In his dealing with the Kwangsi Rebellion he rose to the full stature of a statesman He faced the opposition and won but it was a victory far above party or personal lines for while winning he accepted the view of his adversaries that it was absolutely necessary to stop further encroachments to meet force with force although down in his heart as a military man he prayed he should not *have* to meet a superior force with an inferior force and that a major war could still be prevented as was so clear in his hesitation during the entire month of July 1937 after the Marco Polo Bridge incident Moreover he acted on his conviction he predicted that the next Japanese aggression would be in Suiyuan and when the conflict actually did come Nanking for the first time in history mobilized its forces to oppose the Japanese or Japanese inspired aggression The Japanese were repelled from Suiyuan and the Chinese people were satisfied I still believe that he did this merely to humour the Chinese people and believed there was no danger of a major war in it But outwardly at least did he thus fall into perfect alignment with the will of the people Only by bowing to the will of the people could he command Great man that he was there was no abstract principle in Heaven that he academically obeyed but he could not be said to have read the signs of the times wrong His reward for the new policy of resistance was the spontaneous tribute of loyalty that came to him from the nation during his Sian captivity

If as I say these rebellions served the necessary and useful purpose of clarifying and crystallizing and unifying a national attitude toward Japan then the Sian revolt may be said to have truly paved the way for a united stand and united front as significant in the history of this war as it was dramatic in its surprising developments This admitted it must be said that a man who is now shadowed in obscurity Marshal Chang Hsuehliang must be given

credit for bringing this about and for his entirely patriotic and non personal motives and conduct in the entire affair Was he or was he not correct in forcing Chiang to subscribe to the united front and stop the useless war on the Communists who had been suing for years for this united front and for a chance to fight the Japanese? The united front was a logical development of the Chinese situation and without the Sian incident it could not have been brought about and China would not be ready for a war of resistance From Chiang s release at Sian dated the rapprochement between the Kuomintang and the Communists the Communists promising to relinquish their party programme and demanding in return only Nanking s pledge to resist Japan and never to sign away an inch of Chinese territory to Japan

The Sian incident proved to be the signal for the rallying of all Chinese factions and parties behind Chiang Kaishek for a united resistance against Japan Thus was a circle completed beginning with the Japanese denunciations of Chiang Kaishek in the summer of 1935 and ending with the complete alignment of the Chinese people behind him as the national leader in December of 1936

Writing in the Spring of 1937 (China Prepares to Resist *Foreign Affairs* April 1937 New York) I concluded with the warning of a final explosion and an appeal to reason

finally there is China embittered by years of bullying at the hand of a nation which in her heart she really despises hardened by a period of disillusionment in international diplomacy and finally taught the lesson of ultimate reliance upon herself At the head of the nation keyed up at last to the tune of modern nationalism eaten up by bitter hatred of the invaders and unified by one single powerful emotion is a determined wily modern statesman soldier So much of China s national consc ness has been suppressed in past years by the Government that when eventually it explodes as if Japanese pressure is continued the world will

ed The explosion will have more spectacular results than the last Shanghai War The only alternative is a prompt application of the old philosophy of live and let live

I have been at pains to sketch at considerable length the foundations of Chinese resistance and gradual drawing together and alignment of forces in the years preceding the war in order to show and enable Western readers to understand the solid structure and inner fabric of this Chinese resistance which has given the world a surprise I wanted to show in the first place that the strength of Chinese resistance was built up in the years between 1932 and 1937 and not after it and that China profited a great deal by the spiritual mobilization of our people by the Japanese through these years Had Japan not demonstrated her stock methods and real intentions in the puppet state of Manchukuo and had China chosen to fight Japan in 1931 the basis of Chinese resistance would not have been so broad and deep among the people In the second place I wanted to show that the war was brought about by large historic forces in conflict and that the years preceding the war coincided with the best and most hopeful years of China s internal reconstruction which became a race with the Japanese plans for onslaught on the budding modern united China Thirdly I wished to show that the will to resist came from the people and largely forced the Government s hand and side tracked its policy of playing for time Fourthly I wished to show that the essential condition for national downfall such as existed at the end of the Sung and Ming Dynasties is lacking in modern China I mean the spirit of petty strife and personal dissensions among the Chinese leaders This must be credited in the first place to Chiang s leadership and ability to convince the other factions of his honest although realistic and cool minded patriotism and in the second place it must be credited to the magnanimous attitude of sincere patriotism and broad mindedness of the Kwangsi Generals Li Tsungjen and Pai Tsunghsi and

of the Communist leaders Chu Teh and Mao Tsehtung Need I emphasize the fact that Chu and Mao held at Sian in their hands the life of the man who had warred upon them for the last eight years and had placed vast sums on their heads and magnanimously released him because they believed that China needed him for a national resistance against Japan? This co-operation of the leaders for a common war of national liberation I regard as the best index of China s spiritual regeneration Historically the contrast to the petty personal rivalry of Chinese leaders at the end of the Sung and Ming Dynasties is most striking When I see China thus unified I regard my country as having already passed the worst period in her modern history

VI THE MAN CHIANG KAISHEK AND HIS STRATEGY

A psychological study of Chiang Kaishek would be most fascinating I can discuss it here only in relation to his leadership in the present war He had not only united China by force and masterly strategy over his older rivals which was no mean task He was more modern than Wu P eifu or Yuan Shihk ai and succeeded in doing what these two men had failed in the military unification of China under the Republic Virtually alone and single handed he had defied the Wuhan Govern ment in 1927 and established his own Government at Nanking and had changed the entire course of Kuomin tang history He had made of that Nanking Government the stable national government of China for eleven years when the war broke out and had made of that govern ment the ba is and centre for China s internal reconstruc tion He had fought a dozen major and minor civil wars at times against formidable combinations and had always come out victorious by sticking to his guns had outwitted his political adversaries and o his military opponents so that they seemed in the wrong He had bought and sold

made temporary use of political groups to gain immediate ends He had to work with such a medley of politicians as he found them with the bitterest cross currents of internal politics and therefore he had to tolerate evils until the time came when he could do away with them He had to fashion a new administration that held together out of the very imperfect human material a transitional generation had provided him with He had fought with every friend and patched up with every enemy and had employed in his own secretariat his defeated military enemy General Tang Shengchih who later rebelled and again came to serve under him He had discredited the entire Nineteenth Route Army heroes of the Shanghai War (1932) in the eyes of the Chinese people within a year and a half and he had bought off the generals of rival warlords (except the Communist officers who could not be bought) and broken up the armies of really formidable rivals by separating their units in service at different parts of the country He was self willed masterly astute far sighted determined stubborn cool ruthless calculating wily ambitious and truly patriotic He has mellowed and broadened and truly has the interests of China at his heart He has a vision of a strong united and independent China and another vision of himself at the head of such a China and the two visions merge and become inseparable from one another in his mind

Personally he is a disciplinarian neither smokes nor drinks not even tea (¹) he acts but does not talk calls a conference lets every one express his opinion listens silently sends them away and makes his own decision He can stand in the hot summer sun and lecture his officers for hours He has a rare disregard for personal danger and has many times risked his life at the front whenever necessity required his personal presence

In regard to his national leadership both before and during the war I think he has steered the ship of state during an extremely dangerous period in a masterly manner with fewer fatal blunders than belong in the lot of

common men I have already pointed out his inhuman coolness of mind in giving up Manchuria and in his attitude during the Shanghai War of 1932 and he had braved national censure in doing so He had consistently played for time and avoided conflict with Japan until such time as China should be united and at last stood a better chance for forcing a stalemate In the years 1932 35 he utilized the pro Japanese group in the Government and the Foreign Ministry to kowtow to the Japanese while he kept consistently away from Nanking refusing to take direct part in any negotiations and was either staying at Kuling fighting the Communists or was flying from province to province fighting anything he could find to fight or at least inspecting waterworks and river embankments This subterfuge of evasion was kept up for a long long time so that during those years Chiang s return to Nanking for a flying visit was counted quite an event The Japanese got so annoyed that they at last demanded direct negotiations with Chiang himself It was to his credit that after the attempted assassination of Wang Chingwei when Chiang took over the helm of the Executive Yuan and Japan opened direct negotiations with Chiang himself a new note was struck in the history of Sino-Japanese negotiations In the eighty three day negotiations from the middle of September to the beginning of December 1936 China met Japanese demands with counter demands For instance the Japanese demand for an air service between China and Japan was countered by the Chinese demand that Japanese aeroplanes cease flying over Chinese territory and to the Japanese offer to co operate in fighting Communists in China the Chinese Foreign Minister replied by offering to send Chinese troops to exterminate Communists in Manchuria! For the first time in Sino Japanese negotiations China was treating herself as an equal of Japan

One is almost tempted to give Chiang the ... purposely yielding to Japan for five or six year... the Chinese indignation against Japan up to

Although Hankow should fall into Japanese hands the enemy controls nothing except a desolated country and a dead city

The real war has only begun through the launching of operations on all fronts The Japanese troops are already sunk in a morass and from now on will be operating on a yet more difficult terrain

The Chinese retreat from Hankow should not wrongly regarded as a military retreat but as a strategic movement for transforming a defensive war into an offensive war and as a turning point changing defeat into victory

China then has in the course of sixteen months of the war strictly followed the fixed strategy which was based on the three principles

(1) a prolonged resistance
(2) national resistance on all fronts
(3) a fight to keep the initiative in battle

These principles are the essential factors for securing final victory

At the beginning of the war knowing that the sacrifice had to be made the Chinese Government ... to build up the Western provinces as the principal ... for a prolonged resistance

I have already said to you (the declaration at Kuling) that a war of resistance is not an affair of six ... or a year and that once the war is begun it must ... a war to the end and there can be no turning ... midway to seek a peace of compromise It is only ... undergoing the greatest hardships and sacrifices th... the people of China can hope to achieve the final ... tory

Temporary reverses shall not weaken our will to ... tinue to resist The extension of the theatre of mi... tary operations was long ago expected China has vast territory an enormous population and rich ... sources and the more extended the field of battle ... more divided will Japan s fighting power become

enemy will be forced to fight in a manner favourable to China's tactics Consequently the fighting will no longer be confined to a region as it was at Shanghai and at Nanking but the Chinese forces shall take the entire initiative and enjoy all liberty of action The nation should launch attacks everywhere against the Japanese

I repeat that the war of Chinese resistance is not like an ordinary war between two nations fighting for the desire of power but our war is a revolutionary war fought for national liberation Such a war can never be limited or handicapped by time or space by money or questions of economics by communications poison gas inferiority of equipment or by the weight of sacrifices There shall be no other end except final victory

As a matter of fact our war of resistance is not handicapped Our war materials have been stocked for a long time and are actually more than sufficient for meeting the situation and there is no danger of our international lines of communication being cut off The facts have proved that the more barbarous the invasion turns out to be the stronger becomes our will to resist and that the heavier our sacrifices the quicker will be our power of recovery

Spoken like a leader! And the development of events will prove the full meaning of those words

It is interesting to note apropos of the above declaration that in the evacuation of Hankow Chiang again proved his cool mindedness by his demand for withdrawing the Chinese forces intact in conformity with his general policy outlined above and proved his determination by the threat of resignation A month before the Eighth Route Army had opposed this policy and demanded the defence of Hankow at all costs and made Chiang agree by the threat of breaking the united front Such divergence of policy is no more indicative of a split divergence of policy among various members of t nese Cabinet and a defence of Hankow tactically

to hold up the advance of Japan and inflict the greatest possible losses on the enemy had much to be said for it But Chiang s stand in this matter is illustrative of the mind that was thinking of the larger aspects of the war of resistance characterized by hard headed realism both in avoiding a decisive battle which Japan sought and in retaining the initiative in forcing Japan to fight on a terrain favourable to China

If one takes a topographical map of China and studies the course of Japanese invasion of China one finds that it coincides to a nicety with the areas that are below the 100 metre level above the sea With the single exception of mountainous Shansi where the Japanese troops have been having the hardest time of their life in the past year and a half the invaded areas cover the narrow strip along the Yangtse and its delta the Huai basin in Anhwei and Northern Kiangsu and the Yellow River basin in Hopei and Shantung At the time of writing there are still two regions below the 100 metre level unoccupied by the Japanese the Poyang Lake region south of Kiukiang and the Han River basin in northern central Hupei running southward into the Tungting Lake region approximately down to Changsha in Hunan It is inevitable that the Japanese invasion will meet with no formidable opposition within this area and as the maximum will extend about 150 miles westwards roughly to Ichang and about 300 miles southwards along the Canton Hankow Railway roughly to Hengyang which the Japanese will be able to occupy The rest are mountains where Chiang Kaishek would like to fight Japan At Ichang on the Yangtse and following a line directly north to Hsiangyang the country *abruptly rises to the mountains of Western Hupei* and so does Hunan south of the Tungting Lake and west of the Canton Hankow Railway In other words if one takes a pencil and draws a map of Japanese occupied areas in China by the end of 1938 it will coincide exactly with the areas below the 100 metre level in the whole country of China with the exceptions mentioned The

rest is like Shansi where an entire Japanese division of 20 000 men was known to have been unspectacularly frittered away by guerrilla encounters to 5 000 men in four months without a single battle

From the beginning of 1939 on the war will change its essential character and while Japan will be fighting a wearing-out defensive war in her occupied areas and advancing with extreme difficulty and caution in the rest of China China will be fighting a zigzag offensive-defensive war on all fronts or without a front There will be no Chinese concentration of three-quarter million soldiers at any one point because the nature of the terrain will not require such concentrations and the tremendous massed fighting power will be distributed all over the country to engage the invaders where they choose and keep them busy Whereas in the first one and a half years of war China was a vast territory in which Japan could choose to strike at any point and time she thought best henceforth the extended occupied areas will present China the same opportunity to strike where and when China chooses and on the whole China will retain the initiative This is going to be the character of the Chinese war of resistance

VII Why Japan Must Fail

The contest of forces we see to-day is a conflict between two national wills Japan s will to conquer and China s will to resist Since the two wills are equally adamant because the Japanese are determined and well organized and the Chinese are fighting to save their national liberty and very existence there can be no yielding or weakening from either side This much is certain there will be no faltering in Chinese leadership and no lessening of Chinese morale The result is therefore that it will become a test of endurance—between Japanese finance and Ch
morale Whichever has the greater staying p
The more territory Japan nominally conq
will be the cost of Japanese occupation and

Japanese man power and finance Granted that the very worst happens for China that Japan occupies the whole of China the mere occupation of China will kill Japan For Japan will be trying to replenish its army of occupation of over a million soldiers playing only the defensive in a hostile continent with an actively hostile population of 400 000 000 Such a simple statement depends of cours on a number of assumptions—continued Chinese resistance unity and high morale Japan s inability to consolidate her victory and exploit Chinese resources and the exhaustion of Japan s finance—but these assumptions are supported by hard objective facts That is why it is inevitable that Japan will lose in this war

Japan will repeat the disastrous victory she had in the usso Japanese War of 1905 literally bankrupt at the end and more desirous for peace than Russia and consequently forced to accept an empty victory At the end of that one year war in 1905 Japan was like a fighting cock that crowed at the moment of triumph and then fell down dead Japan was so exhausted that she was not able even to compel the payment of indemnity from Russia at the Peace Conference because otherwise Russia had threatened to continue the fight This is the inner story of the unforgettable injustice which Japanese publicists have been laying at President Theodore Roosevelt s door for forcing Japan to disgorge Manchuria as fruits of her victory Another American President may force Japan to disgorge China but he will not do so and cannot do so until Japan is reduced to the same state of economic exhaustion she found herself in at the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War and it is up to the Chinese to create that condition of economic exhaustion in which American and British intervention will become possible

It is not my object here to go into the details of Japanese finance the heightening Chinese morale the Chinese guerrilla resistance and the actual conditions of Japan s occupied areas which are the essential assumptions for the postulate of a final Chinese victory The weakness of

Japanese finance and its scandal ... well known to the intelligent western public. Totalitarian measures are good only for domestic finance and do not alter the fact that Japan has to continue to pay with gold and diminished exports for the military and commercial raw material which she must obtain from abroad. Nor can totalitarianism save a state's foreign trade from being ruined in a war.

Equally well known is the fact of Japan's precarious hold on railway zones beyond which her troops dare not go out in the so-called occupied provinces. Japanese troops are not seen in the countryside of the whole of Shantung and Hopei; the country is ruled and organized by Chinese under the National Government; its magistrates and provincial governors are appointed by the National Government whose authority in Shantung and Hopei to-day is actually firmer than before the outbreak of the war; the Chinese continue to collect taxes, run the post office and banks and market the agricultural output by rural co-operatives; appointees of the puppet government of Peiping are murdered as soon as they arrive at the country; a complete espionage system organized among the peasantry by the Eighth Route Army makes it impossible for traitors to penetrate into their territory; guerrilla activities reach the very walls or outskirts of Peiping, Tsinan, Tientsin and Shanghai; Chinese guerrillas cross and re-cross the Japanese guarded railway lines; repeated wholesale defections occur of Manchukuo troops and Chinese Peace Preservation Corps stationed at different cities and armed by the Japanese; railways are constantly derailed and Japanese ammunition intercepted and Japanese outposts murdered piecemeal in small lots; Chinese guerrillas wear captured Japanese uniforms and depend for one third of their ammunition supplies on the Japanese. In this state of affairs prevailing in Hopei, Shantung and Shansi, the Japanese dare not venture outside the cities except in groups of two or three ... in broad daylight. At Shihchiachuang

tion of the Peking Hankow line and the line leading t Shansi a city which technically has been under Japanese occupation for a year and a half the garrison retires to within one third of the city f self protection at night while the guerrillas swarming the outskirts come in at night and get their food and fraternize with the p ople in the other two-thirds the city and leave at dawn

The net result is that with the single exception Peiping the Japanese are occupying only desolated ci always precariously held by outposts with a population of only those too old or too poor to run affording no possibility of trade or commercial exploita Actually every additional city occupied means only added liability for defence on the part of Japan an tension of her thin perilous communication lines and added item in the accumulating waste of Japanese power material and finance

The Japanese must admit now that they are so sally hated and feared through their own savagery gance immorality and inability to protect the m that whole Chinese city and village populations have away from the approach of Japanese soldiers as never ran away from the worst plague and no offe induce them to return The wholesale migration o fairly over 50 000 000 Chinese village and city and the abandonment of their houses and properties these hordes of modernized savages are probab best c mment on the conduct of Japanese soldi rs individual profits of Japanese officers and priv pillage looting and rape render impossible a natu hit of Japan fr m occupied areas No ec ploitation i possible during the progress of the w sive b y cott and the extreme poverty of the Ch maining in the occupied areas and the general make this impossible

Could one learn to harden oneself to of Chinese women execution of civilians be

rendered soldiers in closed matsheds or by pouring petrol over their heads bayoneting of babies rounding up of young men shooting of refugees in water sinking of fishing junks and wholesale bombing of civilians could one harden oneself to all these unimaginable atrocities* unanimously reported by neutral witnesses in all areas one might take a long view and regard them as the greatest single blessing uniting all classes of the Chinese people and strengthening their spirit of resistance as nothing else could have done *Since God s creation of man no race* or nation has subjected the population of a fellow nation to greater atrocities with greater consistency ruthlessness arrogance cruelty indecency and self-demoralization on such a scale as the Japanese have done in China No conqueror in history proved himself less fit to rule If a rudimentary sense can t ll *one* that *to* rule means to offer a minimum of security and decency of life to a conquered people the Japanese have not got it For the appeal to patriotism to resist the invaders among clas es that cannot be reached by this appeal the Japanese soldiers have substituted a more elementary appeal to sheer security of life and protection of their women A small cigarette shop owner whose *interest* in life is only to make a living would probably not mind a foreign rule but even a cigarette shop owner does not want to see his wife sister mother or daughter raped before his eyes The boche of the Far East has made the boche of the West appear by comparison like an advanced type of human being and Japanese *bush do* must go down in history as merely Yellow *bocheido* (-*do* is the approximate Japanese equivalent for *ism* a transformation from the Chinese word for *Tao* in *Taoism*) The significant thing is that *bushido* as the samurai s code of honour has been completely exposed The notorious fact in Shanghai and other Japanese occupied areas is that there is rampant corruption not only among the Japanese soldiers but

* See the documentary record in H J Timperley s *What War Means Japanese Terror in China* (Gollancz London)

among the Japanese officers both in the form of petty cruelty and robbery for profit and in organizing narcotic dens gambling houses and brothels and other rackets and illegal extortions of money for issuing permits etc —a fact which is repeatedly recorded on the spot for instance by the American *China Weekly Review* published in Shanghai

I realize that the authorities in Tokyo disapprove of these atrocities and see in them the real threat to Japanese rule in China I realize also that back in Japan there are any number of decent minded men and devoted women who do not suspect what their sons and husbands are doing in China The fact remains that you cannot change the character of a race by a military order the psychology of an upstart race systematically taught to be anti foreign and to regard all other races as inferior and the Chinese race in particular as unregenerate is not going to be changed overnight This Japanese haughtiness and arrogance toward the Europeans and the Chinese is the result of a generation of anti foreign education and propaganda and Japan is now reaping the results of her own anti white and anti Chinese credo almost mystic at times Hence Japanese arrogance and cruelty will not and cannot be stopped To me who grew up in Amoy and saw from my childhood the behaviour of the Japanese and the Japanese consular protection of opium-dens gambling houses and brothels by Japanese subjects in that port for the last thirty years neither Japanese smuggling in the North nor the wholesale demoralization of the Japanese soldiers nor their falling below the standard of a truly great nation gave me any surprise When a nation makes use of extra territorial privileges systematically to encourage smuggling by a fleet of steamers landing junks transporting trucks and an army of ruffians working in broad daylight under the direct explicit protection of its consular authorities such smuggling can no longer be said to be acts of individuals and the nation has stooped to something a first-class and truly great power would never

do Japanese atrocities and indecencies to day are supported by their atrocities and indecencies of the years before the war and come from the same racial character Amidst the admirable characteristics of the Japanese people I must regretfully also admit their highly objectionable quality of *meanness* which is the result of my impressions over a period of years and which honest thinking Japanese must also admit

I am not here to lecture on Japanese racial characteristics but merely to point out that technically and militarily Japan has risen to the stature of an imperialist power but morally she is yet totally unqualified The Japanese level is for instance far below the British level The point is rather that the character of Japanese treatment of the Chinese population cannot be changed The Japanese authorities in Tokyo are forced therefore to the other dilemma to expect this savagery to go on but to hope that the sheer weight of savagery will force the Chinese to become demoralized and to give up the fight Of course the result will be exactly the *opposite*

I do not know whether to attribute it to Japanese lack of subtlety or to Japanese lack of humour when Japan refuses to see that Japan is the godfather of the Chinese anti Japanese movement and that every Chinese has the right to hate all that Japan stands for in her policy towards China Unable or unwilling to admit that the Chinese so bravely defended Shanghai because each individual soldier hated the Japanese the Japanese have circulated the story that Chinese soldiers did not run away from the front in spite of attacks by *enemy aeroplanes* tanks and artillery only because Chiang stationed regiments behind to shoot them if they attempted to fall back The real explanation sad though it may be is that behind the Chinese soldiers stand the ghosts of their violated sis mothers and wives and murdered babies urging th go on This army of ghosts of violated women dered babies will increase as the war goes on follow the Ch wherever they go

it is the object of the Japanese military machine to bomb and murder and rape the Chinese into love of Japan and to kill every anti Japanese Chinese they will have to kill every decent self respecting Chinese man woman and child among the 400 000 000 That the Japanese are perfectly sincere and desirous of stamping out this anti Japanese feeling is beyond question and their seriousness about it makes it so tragic They do not seem to realize that there are certain things that even a warship or bombing plane cannot stamp out The Japanese bombers cannot bomb out of existence Nature s Law of Action and Reaction

Upon Japan s army and navy to-day therefore hangs the spirit of fatalism of a fatalistic nation setting out fatalistically to accomplish a task that cannot be accomplished and destroying itself in the process of attempting to do it The Japanese are too determined and too lacking in the sense of humour to give up the insane task of attempting to bomb and murder and rape the Chinese out of this anti Japanese attitude and they will not do so until they have literally exhausted themselves and committed national *hari kiri* The pity of it! Oh what men dare do! what men may do! what men daily do! not knowing what they do!

The prospect is certain therefore that from 1939 on the Sino-Japanese War will enter a new phase that Chinese resistance will scatter on all fronts instead of being concentrated and will be less spectacular but more effective in long term perspective that Japan will be defending extended areas that China was defending that Japanese troops on Chinese soil must soon exceed a million that the mere cost and wearing out of these million soldiers will bring Japan to thorough financial exhaustion in a year that it will take Japan at least another half year from now to realize the full nature of this prolonged resistance promised by Chiang and that by late 1939 the facing of bankruptcy will force Japan to seek mediation which however will come as an intervention of the Pacific

Powers By the year 1980 the Japanese will r r all this and speak of the injustice of th American President forcing her to disgorge the fruits of h r victory What a subject for the Japanese nation t p nder upon es n in 1940!

What a price nations have to pay f r the ignorance of their leaders! And what a virtue it is ometimes to be m rely well informed! In the early weeks of the Lukou ch iao Incident in July before the general war started I saw one day a truly pathetic report in the *New York Times* dispatch from Tokyo In that brief dispatch it was tated that some Japanese militarists assured their government leaders that Chiang s talk of resistance was a bluff' and Chinese national unity was still a sham un able to sustain a Japanese onslaught while on the same day another Japane e diplomat shortly returned from China warned the leaders that China had already become a new nation and that aggravation of the incident would mean a ruinous major war As I wrote in November 1937 (*Asia Magazine*) shortly after the war began *In* Chinese phraseology Japan is saddling a tiger unable to get down and equally worried how to go on But she has to go on riding the tiger Japan was literally trapped into a ruinous war while expecting an easy victory She miscalculated when she thought Chiang Kaishek s talk of resistance a bluff Again she miscalculated the strength of Chinese unity For a third time she has miscalculated the strength that wholesale attacks on Chinese women and children will demoralize instead of stiffening Chinese re sistance The next time therefore that Japanese states men claim they alone know the Chinese and Westerners don t it will be simple to point out these facts In the same article I warned that we have to assume an ex tended war of years in which both belligerents will come out thoroughly exhausted and that we are presented with the prospect of a war of one or two years in wh the only certainty is that both nations will be ru The Japanese Army has the virtue of pluck and

but the unforgivable vice of being woefully ignorant about China Confucius said the gentleman hates those who are brave and headstrong but are not restrained by propriety He hates those who are daring but thick headed It is evident that Confucius being a gentleman would heartily hate the Japanese Army to-day The anti Japanese attitude of Confucius is further assured by the amplifying statement by his disciple Tsekung I hate those who like to spy on others and think they are very clever I hate those who think they are brave when they are merely unruly And I hate the wily persons who pretend to be honest gentlemen (*Analects* XVII)

Writing elsewhere (*N Y Times Magazine* Jan 30th 1938) I stated The Chinese determination to fight to a finish will force a stalemate which I believe is the only certain outcome At the end of the war China will be devastated and Japan will be so weakened that she will become a second class power When Japan is forced to call off the invasion by face saving mediation through a third power this (Chinese) nationalism will come back to engage upon the gigantic task of national rehabilitation The effects of this war will be felt for decades

VIII THE FUTURE ROAD FOR CHINA

All human life is shadowed by the ghost of its own past and a forecasting shadow upon its own future and as the poet says the evil that men do lives after them The ghosts of this war will stalk the land of the Orient and shadow China and Japan for the next decades

The aftermath of the War will present heart rending problems both for China and for Japan What is certain is that Japan will have enough troubles of her own to think about for a long time—troubles arising from her lost international trade vanished foreign credit depleted finance inflated currency dislocated industry geared to war production unsold bonds rising cost of living and an army of returned Japanese soldiers brutalized and de

humanized by their experience in the war Japan will be punished enough by the results of her own militarists mad adventure and apart from the overthrow of the militarists power in Japan China will not be able to enforce payment of indemnities from Japan for the havoc she wreaked upon a peaceful neighbouring country The calling off of the Japanese invasion will already constitute Japan s defeat and Chinese victory but since the Japanese navy is still intact and unless China with foreign assistance is able to carry war to Japan by a strong air force China will see the end of the war there

Intervention of the Pacific Powers when Japan is reaching exhaustion or near exhaustion is certain Selfish economic interests dictate that By mere economic and diplomatic pressure the democratic powers will be able practically to dictate a peace to a bankrupt Japan or as an advanced step merely give the signal to the Russian Bear *to let* go by tacit support As this is contrary to the deep instinct of the capitalist powers this step is highly unlikely unless the Russian Bear falls upon Japan by itself Rather the Pacific Powers will now raise their voices a little louder and Japanese diplomats will lower their voices a little softer and now that the American public is at last assured of no war with a weakened Japan and liberated from its ridiculous fear of a Japan seeking war with the United States during her occupation with China and Russia the American Government treading still in the mincing steps of merely parallel action with the Pacific Powers free from all entanglements will be able to go ahead and enforce peace in the Orient Although British American joint action backed by force will be able to demand indemnities for China American aloofness will not support the use of force for this purpose Rather the Pacific Powers will be interested in the first place in restating the Open Door Policy and the principles of the Washington Treaty and in the second place in limiting Japan s military and naval strength What a golden chance for eliminating a Pacific rival! I am not implying

lack of American friendship or sympathy for China but base my comment on the hard fact that all talk of international friendship in all countries is merely a diplomatic mode of speech and sheer rubbish and that all international diplomacy is based not on sentiment but on the conflict or community of interests

From an enlightened diplomatic outlook however both China and the other Pacific Powers should in order to repair a serious and fatal gap in the Japanese political constitution which may at any moment engulf both the Japanese people and their neighbours in war again demand firmly in the interests of peace for the Japanese people and others the constitutional curtailment of the power of the Japanese army and navy the elimination of their super-cabinet super parliament and super legal privileges and the restoration of true democracy for Japan There is a great chance that at the conclusion of the disastrous war such a demand will fall in line with the sentiments already existing in Japanese parliamentarians and will hasten the overthrow of the Japanese Fascists The Japanese people must be protected against their own blood thirsty war mad and glory drunk militarists and the hand of democratic forces must be strengthened in Japan

If I had my way I would enforce the following three principles as the basis of a just and equitable peace

(1) Japan must abandon the Anti Comintern Pact and China shall co operate with Japan in the extermination of Japanese Fascists

(2) The super cabinet super parliament and super legal privileges of the Japanese army and navy must be abolished and Japan must be helped to grow into a real democracy

(3) Japan must abandon her anti Chinese policy and respect the territorial integrity and administrative sovereignty of China

These are just as nice sounding as Hirota s three princi ples but much less wicked and hypocritical in content and I am not the unwilling polished agent of military masters in my country If I were not to spoil the beautiful three principles I would add a fourth

(4) The Open Door policy will be maintained in China but extra territoriality and all claims to special status in China by any one nation or group of nations must be abolished

As for the future foreign relations of China when the war is over I am quite sure there will be quite a new at mosphere of international goodwill equality and mutual respect an atmosphere that China has earned and won by a heroic war of national liberation Actually China will have fought a war to a successful issue for the first time since her close contact with the West in the nineteenth century—the only war in a century she did not fight dis gracefully But just as Japan will be a disastrously tired and wearied quitter so China will also be a disastrously tired and wearied victor eyes blinking feet staggering and clothes torn to tatters shouting victory in gasps To be sure there is an inner exhilaration of spirit a joy of salva tion for the land and deliverance from its enemy But upon the ruins of the destroyed Jerusalem a New City has to be built and the joy of triumph and national deliverance is slightly tempered by the Necessity to Borrow The great Democratic Powers can be counted upon to utilize this weapon—the economic weapon their greatest—for main taining their interests in China Filthy lucre will then be come the greatest bond of international friendship in the Far East

The attitude then both of the Chinese toward the foreigners and of the foreigners in China toward the Chinese will be very interesting to watch On the whole I must say it will be a *healthier* attitude on both sides On the Chine e side there will be a new found national , tempered by tradit I Chinese sanity and restraint

as I say by the Necessity to Borrow On the foreign side there will be an attitude of desire to preserve certain old privileges strongly tempered by genuine goodwill China being happy with her own success and the Democratic Powers being grateful to China for so weakening a Pacific rival both sides will be pervaded by the spirit of genero sity for happy and grateful people can afford to be generous

For we must face the fact that China fighting merely a war for national independence and liberation will have inevitably fought for a much greater issue She will have changed the balance of power in the Pacific and the Far and by forcing both China and Japan into financial ruin will have created a situation in which the only parties that stand to profit by the new situation are Great Britain France the United States—and Russia

I disagree with Chinese diplomats that China is fighting for the principle of sacred treaties China is fighting for something more elementary than that the defence of her home and hearth of her national right to exist Neither America nor Great Britain nor France nor any other single power on earth in this decade is willing to fight for a sacred principle of justice or of sanctity of treaties so why should the hard headed heathen Chinese be expected to fight for an idealistic principle that so far as I know does not exist except in Heaven and nobody has ever seen how Heaven is run? Suppose the foolish Chinese had decided to fight for the sanctity of the Briand Kellogg Pact or the Washington Treaty at the beginning and had in a few months seen that the other signatory powers had let us down would they have gone on fighting and not given up the Quixotic fight long ago?

But while I disagree on the Chinese *motive* for the war I agree on its actual implications and results In spite of herself China will have fought single handed not only for the principle of sacred treaties but for a number of other things so ardently desirable for all the Pacific Powers She will in fact if not in motive have fought

against the advance of a fanatical Fascism in the Orient She will have fought to crush an otherwise powerful ally of Germany and Italy in the next European war She will have fought and defeated the creation of a terrible colossal Japanese continental empire with inexhaustible human power and material resources to threaten both the world's peace and the world's trade She will actually have fought to protect the American cotton growers in the South who a year ago were so anxious to sell to Japan to enable Japan to kill her trade with them for ever She will have prevented Japan's becoming an economically and militarily self sufficient power She will have effectively stopped Japan's march on the Philippines Indo China Siam and the Dutch East Indies She will in one word cynically enough have fought against the consummation of the Asia for the Asiatics doctrine and will have saved the world from the true Yellow Peril advancing steadily in a military and commercial aggression against the entire world She will also have stopped the insane anti foreign anti white mania of Japan She will have weakened and exhausted America's greatest rival on the Pacific and defeated a nation whose behaviour during the war I know the entire American nation at heart execrates She will have incidentally saved the American taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars in rearmament That is why I say the democratic powers will be grateful and generous toward China after the conclusion of the war. Decidedly unwilling to fight for the Open Door in China the democratic powers will be glad to find that the door remains open Consequently inside this door they will at least be more courteous toward the host

Will the hosts be courteous? They will have to be There will be a lot of graceful nonsense in exchange of compliments by Western diplomats on your glorious country with a glorious future but the point will have come to lend money and the owner of rious country with a glorious future will desire to The contemptible

worth fighting for will be transformed into a 'big possibility' with no risks. It is barely conceivable that stray bands of Chinese soldiers and jingoistic young partisans will indulge in expressions of their new found pride by a few occasional outrages on foreigners in China, aping the Japanese. But the innate Chinese quality of toleration will come out again, and Chiang Kaishek can be counted upon to check any discourtesy to potential money lenders. At least the Chinese will not machine gun the British Ambassador's car, sink American and British gunboats on the Yangtse, kick American women in the [illegible] slap American consular authorities in the face, [illegible]ow American flags into the Whangpoo, bayonet French [illegible] protecting Chinese women, ask foreign correspondents to remove their cigarettes before sentries on the Shanghai Bund Bridge—all these raw, insolent acts of anti foreignism and anti Europeanism that were expected of the Chinese but not quite perpetrated by the Chinese Boxers. The anti foreignism of the Chinese Boxers of 1900 has become a perennial libel against the Chinese, accepted by the Western public that do not realize China in the last forty years had had her national arrogance entirely beaten out of her, and that the prize for this national and racial arrogance has passed to the Germans, the Italians and the Japanese—the descendants of Siegfried, Julius Cæsar (!) and the Sun Goddess.

Moreover, it must be sufficiently understood that human hatred is allotted to every man in a definite fixed quantity when he is born. That quantity varies with individuals, but given the quantity, he cannot hate more than is psychologically possible for him. Only psychologically abnormal individuals and nations can hate everybody, and the Chinese are fortunately psychologically perfectly sane. What hatred Nature has endowed them with is so spent on the Japanese that they physically have no more hatred left for any other person, white, black or copper coloured. I am quite sure the Chinese on the whole think of the Japanese as veritable demons now, and there

fore by comparison think of every other national is at least a fellow human being The work of white doctors and nurses and missionary ladies at refugee camps tends to emphasize this contrast and those much calumniated *white* residents in the Orient have at least won Chinese goodwill during the war for the benefit of American merchants at home who swear at them for not getting out Oh could the westerners ever appreciate the Chinese sensibility to kindness the great fine Chinese quality of gratitude! The American Red Cross passed by the great opportunity of rendering mercy to Chinese war victims and orphans and winning the goodwill of the Chinese millions for American trade in the future This sin of omission cannot be exonerated The sight of white-clad American doctors and nurses tending to the Chinese women and children might have become an unforgettable picture everywhere in Chinese minds instead of being isolated phenomena *But* Japan decidedly did not want the American Red Cross to mix up in her affairs in the Orient So at least I reason but do not explain The explanation for this unquestioned failure *is not my* duty The American Red Cross I know is ready to receive contributions for Chinese relief but when the active American spirit becomes passive and is content to do nothing I know something is wrong

Actually however China will have fought Japan with foreign assistance and concluded a peace through foreign intervention although she did the fighting single handed This will have contributed to assuage a great deal of Chinese bitterness and sense of disillusionment about the West brought about by the failure of the Western Powers to live up to their treaty obligations during the first year and a half of the war As this war progresses and the conflict of Japan with western trade interests becomes clearer and more sharply defined with Japan s advance to South China and as it is made clearer every day tt Chinese resistance cannot be broken and tt cannot win help for China from France C

and the United States will become more and more important As Japan steadily weakens the attitude of England and the United States will steadily stiffen Invisible boycotts tightening of credits for Japan embargoes on material economic reprisals and official actions will steadily mount in importance until the time comes for active intervention Such responses will naturally bring about Sino foreign goodwill The general result will be that the special status of westerners and western concessions in China will be abolished in a short time and the general principles of the Washington Treaty will be vindicated and China with foreign financial assistance will come back to renew the work of national rehabilitation and reconstruction from where it was interrupted in July 1937 by the outbreak of the war

The internal political system of China will take a middle road fought out between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party or between Chiang Kaishek and the Eighth Route Army Generals Chu Teh and Mao Tseh tung The broad base of the Chinese cultural tradition of toleration will force a political compromise between dictatorship and communism and will produce a type of democratic socialism which is peculiarly China s own In the broad general struggle between Fascism Communism and democracy as generally understood in the West China will incline toward democracy

The first trend toward a strong dictatorial regime as different from totalitarianism of the Hitler Mussolini or the Stalin type will be represented by Chiang Kaishek The personal prestige of Chiang will become so great through his courageous and wise leadership in this war that he will command a huge following and the loyalty of the nation He will also be more than a moral dictator in the sense of Gandhi in India He has not renounced and will not renounce the democratic principles of Sun Yatsen s Sanmin Doctrine But he will in his Chinese way dominate the entire Chinese government hold its military financial and political power in his hands

and within the framework of the Chinese democratic constitution achieve a virtual personal control The urgent problems facing China s economics and military rehabilitation will also favour strong centralization of power One will hear a lot about three year plans and five year plans Chinese environment and Chinese racial tradition will not permit Chiang Kaishek to declare himself dictator of China and he will not do so but one can be the real leader of a nation without that title as Masaryk was in Czechoslovakia Chiang has already shown himself too subtle and too Chinese to assume a dictatorship and actually he has become more mellowed in his methods than he was during his early years of determined rise to power Dictatorship after all is only one extreme form of government and how the Chinese hate extremes! Not a single Chinese government leader is in favour of Fascism or dictatorship Chiang will be surrounded and working with these leaders and he is already in too powerful a position to incur popular disfavour by a Fascist revolt against his own regime

On the other hand there are the growing forces of Communist youth and the leaders of the Eighth Route Army As the war progresses and the scope of Chinese guerrilla activities steadily widens the leftists will steadily gain in power among the masses and will be powerful enough to force their demands on Chiang s attention Will Chu Teh and Mao Tsehtung also become Chinese and mellowed and subtle shun extremism and work toward compromise? The answer is that they have already done so Anybody who knows Chu Teh and Mao Tsehtung will call them anything except fanatics Their announcement of willingness to co operate with the Kuomintang not only during the war but even during the period of reconstruction after the war is significant and the Communist leaders have never gone back on their words As the matter stands to day the leftists have abandoned their specifically Communist programme of expropriation landlords and have taken the stand for

tending to work as a legal party within the democratic frame work Recognizing with far sight that Chiang's leadership is indispensable to China for this generation they have accepted it and their position as the opposition logically forces them to stand for the usual democratic rights of the opposition—in other words for popular representation rights of free speech and assembly and the right to criticize the Kuomintang which they have categorically insisted upon It is the existence of this leftist party that will prevent the Kuomintang from drifting again into a one party dictatorship and they will have become entirely too powerful to be ignored Their guerrilla fighting will have played such an important role in fact will have won half the war that the people will not tolerate another anti Communist campaign by Chiang and Chiang will be too wise to start one The net result will be that the leftists will constitute a healthy influence for preserving the democratic pattern and machinery against any tendency toward one party totalitarian rule

What is far more important the leftists will become a power exerted on behalf of the common people the peasant and labour and compel the Kuomintang to emphasize rural reconstruction actually the crying need of China They will also through the war have given the peasants the experience training and technique of self government and also to a certain extent arm the peasants and teach them military defence and reliance upon themselves An internal transformation of the village organization will have taken place and the last word in public government as public service as contrasted with traditional Chinese officialdom will have been taught them The political training of the country people in the guerrilla areas will reach a level unknown before

All this brings us to the paradox that the Chinese Communists will become the bedrock of Chinese democracy This democracy that we are going to see evolving in the Chinese Republic will be as different from the American democracy as the American democracy is different

from the democracy of England or France. The Chinese have a way of adjusting and moulding their institutions to suit their temperament and ways of thinking. One cannot predict beforehand the exact form popular representation will take and what the power of different government and representative institutions actually will be. To judge the progress of Chinese democracy by the standard of any one western pattern would be unfair and superficial. The most perfect outward conformity with an established democratic pattern cannot prevent a democracy from degenerating in fact into a plutocracy. That is why even the American Constitution must go back to the Declaration of Independence and its *fundamental faith* in the equality of mankind.

For we must distinguish between democracy as a method and democracy as an end in itself, between the machinery and the spirit of democracy. In China the western democratic machinery will be grafted upon the old spirit of democracy that is as old as China itself. For the machinery of democratic government will be new, while the broad base of a liberal generous democratic view of mankind and of a government as existing only for the welfare and benefit of *the people* is as old as Mencius and *Shuking*, the most archaic of the Confucian Five Classics. It is as old as the theory of Chinese historians based upon the *Shuking* that a dynasty ruled the people in trust as a "mandate from Heaven," and that as soon as a government misruled, *it forfeited* that mandate and the people had the right to revolt.* As the machinery of republican government is new (since ancient Chinese democracy was based on village self government with complete *laissez faire* by the Central Government), this will be the most unpleasant aspect of it. Respectable Chinese gentlemen may perhaps even be seen immodestly telling their electors to elect them, and all candidates will for

* For an elaboration on this thesis and the development of the "people's voice" in Chinese history, see *History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*.

get to say how unworthy for the office they are I t to see the day when this happens For the last twenty seven years under the Chinese Republic I have never seen it happen Everything has been done through pulling and bribery *a huis clos* decently and respectably Chinese M P s will probably still decline the tradit three times before they are willing to go into office sacrifice all personal considerations for the benefit the country But apart from the intellectual schol who have so far been the great and sole manipulators office one sees to day already representatives of all classe in the People s Political Council which had its first session after the beginning of the war signalling the first step in the return of the government to the people of China by the Kuomintang I like to see how the representatives of peasant and labour conduct themselves in a national assembly All those ugly features of lobbying and party politics and scrambling for votes and the great lesson of abiding by the majority and respect for the rights of the minority the Chinese people will have slowly to learn for themselves

The important thing however is that there is already a marked enlightenment of the people in the western sense to constitute a powerful growth of public opinion in China and that the political training of the entire people during the war and the active participation of all classes in the services of national defence will further strengthen and deepen that organized public opinion upon which democracy in the last analysis depends Modern public opinion will be better organized and better protected by a constitution than the old voice of the people and the channels of speech for the people to reach the Emperor which it was the ideal of a good government in ancient China to keep open The constitutional protection of the people s civil liberties if carried out will work a fundamental change in the people s psychology and public attitude and transform the passive indifferent Chinese people into a socially and politically active people as I

have carefully pointed out in my analysis of the origin of Chinese indifference (pp 49 53) Frankly the prospect of 400 000 000 meek Chinese people learning to be cocky and stand on their rights rather confuses and frightens me

But best of all the old humanistic Chinese philosophy of reasonableness will prevent the nation from rushing into extremes of action and ideology Liberalism will not be dead in the West and liberalism will not be dead in China Of this I am confident After all Chinese humanism and the spirit of reasonableness are the greatest assets of the Chinese nation It is this spirit which makes Chiang Kaishek less of a dictator than the dictators in Europe and which guarantees that the methods of autocracy and the secret police when applied to the people of China will always be doomed to failure It is this spirit which tempered the old absolute monarchy and made it impossible for Chinese to regard their emperors as semi divine or superhuman beings for we have chopped off the heads of too many kings and emperors in the last twenty two dynasties to believe that they are descendants of a mythical Sun Goddess It is this spirit which humanizes our gods and makes us play tricks with them believing that even the gods must be human and reasonable and that there is no god that is too much of a god A fifth-century folk story tells of a farmer arguing the God of Thunder into submission as his thunderbolts were about to strike him since He had listened to only one side of the story and was prejudiced by the Snake Spirit who had eaten the food in the farmer s lunch basket—the lunch basket of an honest hard working man—and had been eaten off by the farmer When the God of Thunder admitted that it was unreasonable he went off and struck the Snake Spirit dead in his cave It is this spirit which makes it impossible for the Chinese nation to persecute a college professor of political science for saying that the Emperor is an organ of the state and not the state as happened in Tokyo It is this spirit which

Chinese kings destroyed Chinese tyrants and pulled Chinese heroes It is this spirit that forced the Ch fight in this war when they saw that after givi Japanese the 2 673 000 square miles of Manchuri Japanese were unreasonable enough to want still It is this spirit that makes the Chinese condemn th man Nazi regime when it persecutes defenceless and children and forces them to pay for damage its own mob violence and that makes the Chinese that any vestiges of European civilization are still

For humanism and the spirit of reasonableness sociated with the sense of humour and the sense portion and rule out fanaticism of all sorts L, basis of the spirit of reasonableness the Chinese tion and Chinese private and public life were based past and we can be sure that whatever is be ruled out and whatever is reasonable will be ed by China in the future